

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXIX, No. 2

Total Number 284

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for February 1940

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS	<i>H. P. J.</i>	86
EDITORIAL COMMENT	<i>A. W.</i>	87
A SMILE IS THE BEST ARGUMENT	<i>J. T. Salter</i>	89
CITIZENS OF TOMORROW	<i>O. Garfield Jones</i>	98
ALABAMA'S MUNICIPAL "TUG OF WAR"	<i>Roscoe C. Martin</i>	101
IRISHMEN LIKE P. R.	<i>Arthur W. Bromage</i>	103
CENSUS BUREAU TRAINS ITS STAFF	<i>Clarence A. Kellner</i>	111
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION GROUP ORGANIZES ..	<i>William E. Mosher</i>	116
THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST: FEBRUARY		118
COMMENTS IN BRIEF		121
CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW		123

NEWS IN REVIEW

NOTES AND EVENTS	<i>H. M. Olmsted</i>	124
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT....	<i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i>	130
CITIZEN ACTION.....	<i>Elwood N. Thompson</i>	132
TAXATION AND FINANCE.....	<i>Wade S. Smith</i>	135
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.....	<i>George H. Hallett, Jr.</i>	140
BOOKS IN REVIEW.....	<i>Elsie S. Parker</i>	145

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

COPYRIGHT FEBRUARY 1940 BY
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Regional Conferences

As announced in the January REVIEW, a five-state regional conference of the National Municipal League will be held at Minneapolis on February 19, 20, and 21. Taxation, civil service, forms of municipal government, citizenship, state and city planning, employer-employee relations are on the program for discussion. The Minnesota Tax Conference has joined forces with the conference group and will take charge of the session on the morning of the 19th.

A Southwest Regional Conference of the League will be held at Dallas, Texas, March 20, 21, and 22. A stimulating program has been outlined covering a number of topics on citizenship—citizenship and good government, training for competent citizenship, making democracy work, the Manitowoc Plan, etc. Other subjects include forms of city government, personnel, tax problems, and expenditure control.

As this issue goes to press, the League's first Joint Conference on Improvement of Local Government in the South, under the auspices of the Institute of Citizenship and the National Municipal League, is being held at the Piedmont Hotel in Atlanta. Next month's REVIEW will carry a report on its sessions.

Committee on Municipal Accounting

The National Committee on Municipal Accounting, on whose central committee the National Municipal League is represented by A. E. Buck of the Institute of Public Administration, has recently issued its Bulletin 10, entitled *A Report of Progress*. The pamphlet describes the origin, past program, and results of the committee's work and suggests ways in which its principles and standards may be put into operation.

The League is represented on the committee also by an advisory group consisting of Carter W. Atkins, director of the Hartford, Connecticut, Governmental Research Institute; R. E. Miles, director of the Ohio Institute; C. E. Rightor, chief statistician, Division of State and Local Government, United States Bureau of the Census; and Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Frank Johnson Goodnow

Frank Johnson Goodnow, for many years professor of administrative law at Columbia University, and later president of the Johns Hopkins University, who died on November 15, 1939, was an active member of the National Municipal League from its early years. At its third annual meeting in 1897 he contributed a paper on "The Powers of Municipal Corporations"; at the fourth annual meeting in 1898 one on "The Place of the Council and Mayor in the Organization of Municipal Government"; and at the fifth meeting, in 1899, another on "Political Parties and the Proposed Municipal Program." He was a member of the committee which prepared proposed constitutional provisions and a municipal corporations act for the first municipal program of the League. He was a member of the commission appointed by Governor Theodore Roosevelt in 1899 which prepared a revised charter for New York City. He later

(Continued on Page 122)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

What Would Ben Franklin Say!

IT would seem logical to assume that a periodical like the *Saturday Evening Post*, with more than ordinary facilities for fact-finding, would be under great obligation to its three million subscribers to adhere to the truth. So it is especially discouraging to people who believe accuracy and objectivity are important to read an editorial which appeared in that publication's January 27 issue.¹

In order to avoid the necessity of saying there is scarcely one entirely accurate statement in it, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW prefers to refrain from answering the editorial directly. We therefore step aside in favor of another *Post*, which happens to be in about the best position of any publication in the country to know the truth about the subject. The following editorial appeared in the January 25 issue of *The Cincinnati Post*:¹

It Leaves Us Gasping

The Saturday Evening Post this week gives its editorial views on a subject about which Cincinnatians have heard a great deal, about which Cincinnatians know a great deal.

It's P. R.

The editorial is headed "P. R.—Meaning Power Racket" and the result is a most amazing fantasy,

¹The *Cincinnati Post*'s reply appears to pre-date the original editorial because, of course, *The Saturday Evening Post* is distributed some days in advance of its date.

something out of the "Wizard of Oz" grafted on to the better moments of "Alice in Wonderland." It's just that far from reality.

But listen to the *Satevepost*'s story, listen and marvel:

"Earnest and aggressive civic leaders" of Cincinnati "were troubled over the obvious fact that minorities were not being represented on the city council, even though the city manager form of government was working well. They looked about for a remedy. Professional enthusiasts came along and sold them on the idea (of using) a new system of voting."

The simple truth is that the civic leaders of Cincinnati were troubled over the fact that under the old system of voting 70,000 voters elected six councilmen-at-large (in 1921) while 63,000 voters elected nobody.

Another simple truth which the *Satevepost* could have readily discovered had it been moved by any sense of curiosity is that Cincinnati had no city manager system before P. R. but that P. R., the small council, and the city manager were parts of the same charter adopted by the people in 1925.

Again says this journal:

The 1939 municipal election "gave Ham-and-Egger Bigelow the balance of power in Council, and he's been using it to keep Cincinnati in bewildered turmoil ever since."

That will be news to all of us, particularly, we think, to Mayor Jim

Stewart and certainly to Mr. Bigelow.

Finally:

"If there had been eight other demagogues with personal followings as large as Bigelow's in Cincinnati, then there would be nine Bigelows running the city of Cincinnati today, and the citizenry at large wouldn't be represented at all."

After that, we know of nothing to clear away the dizziness except for all to join hands and sing "The Wicked Witch Is Dead!"

* * *

HELLO PHILADELPHIA, home city of the *Saturday Evening Post*!

Cincinnati, the Queen City, reporting. Cincinnati's credit rating

best in nation (*Business Week*, September 2, 1939). Cincinnati municipal bonds yield 1.65 per cent interest; Philadelphia bonds yield 3.15 per cent for 1939.

Cincinnati's adjusted tax rate for 1939, \$15.98 per thousand valuation; Philadelphia's adjusted tax rate \$27.25 per thousand (figures from Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research).

No city income tax in Cincinnati; no mortgage on a municipal utility. Philadelphia has both.

Cincinnati does it with city councils elected by P. R., city councils with competent men in the majority who insist on non-partisan, efficient management of the city's business.

Try P. R., Philadelphia; maybe you'll like it!

Profit and Loss in Virginia

TWO of three judges recently decided in favor of the city of Richmond in its suit to annex a considerable part of surrounding Henrico County, Virginia, which in recent years has been making history in efficient management and sound government.

Expert witnesses had testified that Richmond's governmental structure and management record were both definitely bad and that Henrico County's was good. One of the two judges who voted in favor of Richmond's annexation move made it a point to emphasize this in such a way that he as much as advised the city to

profit by the county's excellent example.

While the city's mayor still calls his venerable two-chamber council arrangement which has resisted virtually all progressive changes for years "a splendid form of government", newspapers and civic leaders are clamoring for a modern form of government with a small unicameral council and a city manager. So, if the city persists in its apparent determination to do away with the good example (which must be a constant source of embarrassment), perhaps its people will profit in the long run.

A Smile Is the Best Argument

"In the pattern of politics—that is, in the elements or constants that occur and re-occur in every campaign—the factor of personal attention is enormously important."

By J. T. SALTER
University of Wisconsin

THE pattern of politics is as closely related to the life and values in a given place as crops are related to soil and climate. A clue to one of the most significant elements in this pattern was disclosed last spring when the monarchs of England visited our shores. When the American sovereign voter was presented to the British King and Queen, homo Americanus bent, curtsied, or scraped with gusto, if not with grace. In his democratic heart he knew that the occasion demanded some special show of deference—some marked personal attention on his part. He would have had much the same feeling, but with less outer manifestation of it, had his own President, or Governor, or favorite political leader stood before him. All through history the approach to a King has been fashioned out of ceremonial and ritual.

But in the democratic United States it is the single voter that is sovereign, and he, like other sovereigns from time immemorial, expects his public servants to pay him the same sort of personal attention that George and Elizabeth so painstakingly bestowed on their American public. No ward or rural politician, stained by a life-long quest for votes, could have more effectively bestowed individual attention on constituents than did the British Monarchs in their few days here. They must

have taken great pains, but they seemed merely graceful as they courted the people. Thousands of hands were shaken; a hundred thousand smiles were given. Kings know what common people learn, that a smile is the same to all classes and to all parties; a smile is the best argument.

Who is the best vote-getter in the United States? Who is our smartest politician? What man in public office has most assiduously wooed the people; wooed them by speaking to them personally, by calling untold millions "my friends"? Our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is the man. He has won the hearts of a controlling number of voters by making them believe that he was thinking of them personally when he gave his magical "fireside" talks. The President carried his own message to the people; he paid personal attention to them, and they in turn voted for him on election day.

That is the standard formula for success at the polls, whether the office sought be in a neighborhood or in a nation, the office of town supervisor or president. In the pattern of politics—that is, in the elements or constants that occur and re-occur in every campaign—the factor of *personal attention* is enormously important. The American may be a lonely soul in the Great Society, but nevertheless he is one that likes to be recognized. He has a wish to

feel important. He likes the idea of having a man in office that he knows—a friend of his. The good neighbor policy is a reflection of this attitude and it goes back to the time when strangers were spoken to on the street. The service club idea is a modern expression of the same thing. "I now introduce Mr. William Blake—Hello, Bill!" It is an expression of our equalitarianism, and of friendship. The official that gets close enough to the people is responsive to their needs. And probably the instinct of the voter is sound. Every politician knows it's real. Why is the Honorable Philip La Follette glad to be called Phil? He knows that Phil can get votes that the Honorable Philip La Follette cannot get.

REFORMERS TAKE NOTE

This "personal motif" of our politics is best understood by the plain people themselves, and by those who have had dealings with candidates for public office. It seems to have escaped the attention of the majority of reformers and certain textbook writers. The discussion which follows merely represents my own opinion and belief in regard to one of the elements in our pattern of politics; however, the opinion and belief are based on both an intimate and rather long observation of politicians and voters. All of the illustrations are taken from life. They might have been found in a politician's note book—if he were ever to keep a note book on those daily activities of his that go far in determining his strength at election time.

One time I lived at the home of a great singer. Her cousin, Miss

Sherwood, a lady of ninety-one, lived there too. After several months I was unexpectedly stopped one evening in the dimly lighted corridor by Miss Sherwood. She asked, "Is it Mr. Salter?" And then, "Mr. Salter, I am glad that you live here." I said that I was, too, and then asked why she was glad. "Because," she replied, "you make me feel important."

And so it is with people generally. We like to feel important. And one of the most common and effective ways in which to make a person feel important is to single him out for personal attention. Moreover, if the personal attention is bestowed by a man in public office, its effectiveness is measurably enhanced.

A recent remark of a fraternity student nicely illustrates this idea. "Ex-Governor Schmedeman paid me one of the greatest compliments that ever could be bestowed by just mentioning a single sentence and shaking my hand. I was at the Capitol with some fraternity brothers, idling about the corridors, when the 'Governor' passed by and called out, 'Hey, Jim, I saw you jump "Gray Dawn" (a jumping mare) last week. Will you teach me to ride as well?'

"I was thunderstruck that the Governor should remember me—merely a contestant in a horse show, but, in front of my brothers, it was the most flattering thing that he could have said, and I grieve that I was not able to help him into office in 1934."

But non-fraternity students feel just the same about this sort of thing. "The alderman of the ninth ward in Racine (Frank P. Marino) al-

ways calls me 'Carmino' whenever he sees me, and this makes me feel very important, especially when I am called that with my friends nearby. I should add that I voted for him in Madison by absentee ballot last April."

A young minister is impressed at the sight of the mayor and his wife in his first congregation. "Chunky (the mayor) complimented me highly on the sermon. Mrs. Martin (the mayor's wife) came up after the sermon with tears streaming down her face." A treasurer in a small northern town told me that the farmers like to have their farms praised. Whenever he visited one, he made notes on its condition and then when he returned he could praise the improvements made. He added that the farmers were like brides who wished to have favorable remarks made about their cooking.

A friend told me about a banquet, and added, "This was the first time in my life that I sat next to a congressman." On the occasion of a parade I heard an unknown say to an acquaintance, "I just shook hands with the Mayor." I was reminded of the lady who had shaken the President's hand, and then declared that she would never wash that hand again.

Years ago, our colored maid in Pennsylvania told me that she always voted for Mr. Blodgett because around election time he always said, "Good morning, Mary Jolly," and then she had added, "that makes me feel good." Different people in Wisconsin, and at least one with a Ph.D. degree, have happily told me, "I got a Christmas greeting from Phil La Follette."

I know a farmer who invariably receives a Christmas card from Phil or Bob, and I know that he expects them. One year he failed to get the "Merry Christmas and prosperous New Year" card and he was keenly disappointed. In spite of the perennial stream of greetings that went out from the Governor, I never received one. When I first tried to obtain a copy for my file, I was told, "I would give it to you, but I had planned to keep it."

The story that Maurois tells about Disraeli is utterly foreign to our politics here;¹ the examples I give are characteristic of the American pattern. A friend in Oklahoma told me about a congressman there who sent a letter of congratulations to her uncle when his sow produced a large litter of pigs. A young man in Mississippi married and at the conclusion of his honeymoon received a letter from his assemblyman saying, "I trust that you and Mrs. B. had a most successful honeymoon."

DETAILS IMPORTANT

Birthdays, Christmas, deaths, and weddings are standard occasions when politicians pay personal attention to the voter. But there are innumerable other times and situations, not marked on any calendar, when the resourceful candidate is able to make some voter feel important, to

¹Disraeli was walking up and down a station platform waiting for his train. The baggage master finally approached him, held out his hand, and proudly said, "Mr. Disraeli, I have voted for you for twenty years." Mr. Disraeli paused in his stride, looked at the hand, at the man, coldly shook his head, "I am sorry, I do not know you," and resumed his pacing.

identify himself with some voter, or group, or to do a personal favor for a voter. An assemblyman who has been elected many times said, "It's not the big issues that cause the trouble in politics, it's the details—the little details." More than one congressman has painfully learned that his recommendation for postmaster at Broken Bow has more bearing on his next campaign than does his vote on national policies.

The trivial things are interesting: often the questions that interest the voter are not important. Senator Greenquist said, "If there is a vote four miles away, go after it. Do not neglect a single vote. My barber was too busy to leave his shop on election day. I swept the place while he voted." And then he added, "I never get a haircut in Madison; I always go back to my district." A councilman in X told a professor that he spoke to everyone. The professor interrupted and said, "You even spoke to me." He answered, "Of course I did. If I didn't speak to every — — — I meet, I would lose my job. Your sins may be many in politics, but if you speak to every one, they will be forgiven."

Six times Sol Levitan has been elected treasurer of Wisconsin. The following comment was written by a university student. It seems to indicate that a smile is a smile regardless of education or religion.

"Then came good old Sol Levitan. For years I had heard my Dad talk about him. Once many years ago when my Dad and I were in the Capitol, we paid Sol a visit. He let me sit at his desk and even let me hold a bundle of money just so I could see

how it felt to hold such a sum of money. At the time I was too young to have any interest or knowledge about politics. Now I am for Sol and, although my Dad is a good Republican, nevertheless, from that day on he always voted for Sol Levitan whether he ran on the Republican ticket or the Progressive ticket."

In normal times some people will not vote unless they are personally invited to by the politician of their neighborhood, and other people require transportation to the polls before they cast their ballot.²

One way to point out the great significance of the personal attention aspect of our politics is to ask this question: What is the most commonly used method of getting votes in any or all of the 120,000 or more precincts in the United States? Isn't it button-holing voters? Isn't it meeting the voter face to face and saying (but not so brazenly), "I am a candidate, will you vote for me?" I think that it is, and the candidates, or their representatives who see their constituents at different times throughout the year, are stronger than those who call only at election time. And if in addition to *seeing* the voter, the candidate or his *alter ego*, the party worker, does some-

²I know politicians in Philadelphia who chartered buses in the 1920's in order to bring voters in from the shore to register. However, since the Great Depression has been upon us, the voter's interest in his government (his ballot) has quickened. One politician in a metropolitan area complained to me in a letter that he knew that the 1936 election was bad for him and his friends because his voters came to the polls in droves. He went on to say that when one must drag voters out, the party in power feels safe, but when great numbers of people come to the polls under their own power, it means defeat.

thing for him, isn't the candidate—other things being at all equal—in the strongest possible position?

POWER OF THE ORGANIZATION

Finally isn't this sort of approach to the sovereign (but often dependent) citizen a controlling part of the explanation for the victory of Tammany, Hague, Pendergast, Crump, and their powerful organizations at the polls? And when these organizations are defeated, isn't that the result of their failure to satisfy needs? It probably is, plus the additional fact of a dramatic and dynamic Roosevelt or La Guardia on the other side who has not only the "goods" but the great histrionic ability needed to show the people that they are in a position to give the voter more for his money (ballot) than will any rival firm.

James Farley signs many of his letters merely "Jim"—and in green ink. He is possibly unique in using green ink, but he follows the standard pattern by signing the informal "Jim."

To many people the most interesting writing that they ever read is their own name in print, and the Honorable W. H. Goldthorpe so strongly believes this that he has prepared a special green postcard; one side is for the address and the other is divided by a vertical line. The left side of the card is blank and on the right side in black and red type is printed:

Clipping Bureau
W. H. GOLDTHORPE
Your Assemblyman

Dear Constituent:

The appended clipping from one of our exchanges may be of interest to you, as it is to me. With that idea

in mind, I am sending it along to you with my compliments.

With Best Wishes,
"GOLDY"

Your Assemblyman

This assemblyman explained that he takes all of the newspapers from his assembly district, looks through them, and when he finds a news item that Mrs. Norski entertained the Ladies Aid at her home on Tuesday evening, he clips and pastes it on the card, and mails the card to Mrs. Norski. The assemblyman smiled and said, "The people like it."

"Goldy" has an eight-piece band composed of members of his own family. He explained to me that during campaign time he will go to a meeting in his district and ask the voters if they want to hear hot air or hot music. "You see that is all most political speeches are anyway." Usually the people say "Hot music." "We play 'She'll Be Comin' 'round the Mountain When She Comes,' the 'Beer Barrel Polka,' and other popular pieces."

His most effective piece of campaign literature is an orange colored blotter. Although it does not indicate the party to which Mr. Goldthorpe belongs, nor does it take a position on any controversial question, it does unqualifiedly take a stand on the golden rule. Every effort is used to get the personal and favorable attention of the voter. I quote the document in its entirety.

Re-Elect Your Old Friend
W. H. GOLDTHORPE
(Just Plain "Goldy")
ASSEMBLYMAN

ONE GOOD TERM DESERVES ANOTHER

Keep Saying:

"GOLDY"—My Assemblyman
He's Tooted For Us—Now Let's Toot
For Him

Over on the left third is an eight-page leaflet, about two by two inches in size, entitled "Thumbnail Sketch of Goldy—Your Assemblyman." The first two pages are captioned "General Information." I quote:

Born September 25, 1880. Graduate of Platteville State Teachers College. Studied Law and Advertising. Newspaper Publisher for 35 years. Married Ina Grindell, a Platteville Girl. Father of 10 children. Assemblyman for a Term and a Half. His Platteville Band Serenaded Pres. McKinley; Recommended by the late Teddy Roosevelt. Taught School and was President of the School Board.

The third page is headed "Platform." It contains three words:

THE GOLDEN RULE

The fourth page, "Philosophy":

Teach a Boy to Blow a Horn and
He Won't Blow a Safe.

The fifth page is blank. It is entitled "Jail Record." The last page is headed "Finger Prints." Below are three finger prints.

Goldy's band helped him get elected to the assembly. In Texas W. Lee O'Daniel was chosen governor in 1938, and although his campaign technique cannot be described by any one word, yet neither can it be described without mentioning the fact that he campaigned with a "Hill Billy" band. The significant fact here, as in many other similar cases, is not merely that the successful candidate may be one who devotes his best energies to capturing the attention of the voter, entertaining the voter, making him feel good; the question is—does the candidate discuss the issues too? The candidate may make a statement on a controversial political issue, or he may not. Candidate O'Daniel made political

speeches, and he invited the people to ask questions, but when a searching question was asked, Mr. O'Daniel would often say, "We will now hear from our Hill Billy band."

Every politician has something of Goldy and his band in him, but that is not the question. The real point is: what else does he have? Here is a United States Senator who returned to his home town and found some of the townspeople laughing at a young man who was working night and day on a home-made airplane. The first time it was tested it did not leave the ground. But the Senator paid the boy a personal call, congratulated him on his ambition, and got some pertinent literature from the aeronautical research department of the federal government. This helped the boy to get his plane to fly; it helped the Senator in the minds and hearts of many people, even those who had laughed, and it especially helped him with the boy and his relatives. Finally, in addition to much personal service work of this sort, this man is an outstanding Senator in his own right.

Politics is one of the most strenuous trades men follow. This is partly because there are so many people to see personally. A man drove up to a farmhouse and asked to see Mr. Hendricks, the farmer. His wife, thinking that the caller was a salesman, said that Mr. Hendricks was out in the fields and could not be bothered. The man was not to be stopped, for he started to walk across plowed fields and cobblestones to see Mr. Hendricks. When Mr. Hendricks returned home, he told his wife that the caller was the district attor-

ney of Waukesha, who was thinking of running for Congress. He added that it was merely a friendly call, for they talked only about the crops.

A FAVOR FOR THE VOTER

Personal attention is sometimes merely a smile, a handclasp, and word of greeting: usually, however, it is part and parcel of personal service, a favor done for a voter. This can best be illustrated by describing several experiences in the recent political campaigning of Laurie Carlson, a Progressive of Bayfield County in Wisconsin. Laurie is about thirty years of age. He is serving his second term in the assembly, although he looks younger than many college seniors. His handsome boyish appearance nearly cost him some votes. An old Swedish woman with many relatives told him that he was too young for the assembly job, but the old matriarch became a strong supporter when he answered her in Swedish.

In 1936 Laurie found that several important farmers were opposed to him, and he needed their support in order to win. One of these farmers was Ernest Tetzmer whom Laurie visited one day in the country. He found Mr. Tetzmer out in the hayfield cocking hay, and Mr. Tetzmer said that he was already committed to another candidate and that he could not support Mr. Carlson. Laurie talked to him just the same, and while he was talking he noticed that the ground was very dry at the foot of a hill. He asked if there were not some seepage or springs in that hill. The farmer thought there were. Laurie then suggested that they

take a look at the springs as a possible source for irrigation. They did and Laurie made some pertinent suggestions about taking out the muck, damming the springs, and piping the water down to the farm for irrigation purposes. The next day Laurie got some helpful advice from the University and relayed it on to the farmer. A dam was constructed and land that had been useless is now profitable. Naturally the farmer feels that if you can make a blade of grass grow where none grew before you deserve his vote.

The next case concerns Sam Kransovitz, who is an influential man among the Slovak people of his community. Laurie met Sam at a Slovak church picnic and found that Sam was not for him. The two drank a couple of beers, and then Sam invited Laurie over to his home for supper that evening. Laurie quickly accepted the invitation, and at the end of the supper Sam and his wife went out to the barn to milk the cows and told Laurie they had no time to talk politics. It was in August and very hot. Laurie was dressed in a sport coat, white flannel trousers, and white shoes. However, he followed the farmer and his wife to the barn, took his place among the cows, and milked five. One of the cows had a very wet tail, and because the flies disturbed the cow, the wet tail switched across Laurie's face many times during the milking. It cost Laurie \$1.50 to get his clothes cleaned after the session in the barn, but from that time on Sam has been a supporter of his. Again no politics were talked, but political support was won just the same.

MEET THE SENATOR

Two successful politicians worked most effectively together in bestowing the coveted personal attention on their constituents when the Honorable Robert M. La Follette gave a speech in the fall of 1938 in the assembly district of Paul Alfonsi. The district is in the northern part of Wisconsin and is composed of Italians, Poles, Finns, and some Norwegians. Several hundred people attended the La Follette-Alfonsi rally, and after the speaking was over they waited to meet the Senator. About three hundred voters formed a line, with the Assemblyman and the Senator at its head. One by one, as they filed by, Alfonsi called each voter by name and introduced him to La Follette. No matter how good the speech, there were many constituents in the line that thought the handshake at the end the best part of it.

This personal attention and personal service factor in our politics is universal. It is present in the neighborhood and in the nation alike. How big a part it played in the life of Mark Hanna when he was leader of the Republican party in the Senate is vividly portrayed by Thomas Beer.

He had woven himself into the life of the Congress. And how? Well, he was a business man in politics. Let some Congressman run to him with the case of a shipmaster bullied down at Buenos Aires by the venal authorities of the port, and Mr. Hanna's telephone clicked. The Senator was speaking to the State Department, to Mr. Hay himself. Let some Democrat approach him in the Marble Room wailing that Hay and the President were dragging the United States into world politics too far by demanding an open door for the trade of all nations in China, and people drew close to hear Hanna retort, for American trade.

Nothing was too small to interest the Senator from Cleveland. He adjusted anything that was business. An engine driver had been crippled while helping to unload supplies at Tampa for the army? All right, he would look after that, for Mr. Oscar Underwood, and he lectured the tall gentleman from Alabama on the dignity of engine drivers. "I've talked to hundreds of 'em. Never met one fool, either. . . ." A cargo of mahogany, the sorrows of an insurance company shut out of Germany, the complaint of a lady whose son had been reprimanded at Annapolis for trying to invent a new torpedo, the inefficiency of a laundry machine in a government hospital—bring him anything that touched his instinct of a trader or that had to do with a machine, and Mr. Hanna's voice would be loud for the persons in trouble. A thousand such obligations bound senators and congressmen to Uncle Mark. He rose, in this simplicity, by his usefulness, and superstition clustered on him. He was luck, he was force—and there was something else. Dazedly and unwillingly, people came to see that the old jinni loved his country, and he queerly loved his city and his state. It was unaccountable, almost indecent, when he had been dramatized as a mere plunderer. But there it was. "I won't have an American abused," he growled, in the State Department, "and I don't give a damn if he has a jail record and ain't got a cent. You get those Swiss to let him loose."³

There is one comment that should be made in conclusion.⁴ Politics is

³Hanna, pp. 234-235.

⁴Edmund Burke has also expressed his views on this aspect of politics. "Neither do I wholly condemn the little arts and devices of popularity. They facilitate the carrying of many points of moment; they keep the people together; they refresh the mind in its exertions; and they diffuse occasional gaiety over the severe brow of moral freedom. Every politician ought to sacrifice to the graces; and to join compliance with reason. . . . But when the leaders choose to make themselves bidders at an auction of popularity, their talents, in the construction of the state, will be of no service. They will become flatterers instead of legislators; the instruments, not the guides of the people. If any of them

a slice of life—a very large slice nowadays. And if logic cannot explain politics, it is not strange, for life is not logical either. The politician is the voter writ large. If eight out of ten (Munro says nine out of ten) Americans are politicians by nature, it is not strange that the men they elect should fail to give all their thought and energy to exact questions of justice and impersonal issues.

DO WE NEED THE POLITICIAN?

Furthermore, it is suggested that the politician is an indispensable institution in our democracy. Some of the needs that he satisfies are recognized in formal political theory; others, equally or more vital, are not. In this latter connection, it is as though an individual called his attorney for legal aid. The smiling lawyer came and gave legal aid, or he didn't, but he did bring his harmonica along and played a lively tune beside his client's chair. Or he might merely present the prospective litigant with a fine five-cent cigar. Then again, assume that the attorney came to the distressed person's home, gave or did not give, legal aid, but did repair the cook stove.

Although I believe that such analogies have merit, they are not exact. First, the person seeking legal aid knows pretty well the sort of thing he wants. Politics is more ambiguous. The issues and methods to be

employed are rarely clear. Furthermore, the lawyer has a certificate of his training and general competence that is issued by the state; but there is no equivalent diploma of so exact a nature for the politician.

My second idea revolves around the voter. It is his nature and his wishes that determine how the politician performs on our political stage. It seems that many voters are politicians by nature. But, the voter must be educated to think in terms of law and merit instead of self and favor. He must vote for a candidate because of interest in the common good, and the belief that the vote he casts will best serve the state. He must realize that the candidate of his choice does not owe him anything for his vote that he does not owe all people in his constituency. If he is intelligent, he understands that his vote is given to the state not to an individual. It is true that he places his "X" after a candidate's name, but he is thinking of the state. He is actually trying to pick a state's man or a city's man, not a voter's man or a private interest's man. Therefore the voter must be made to realize that he deserves neither a five-dollar bill nor a job nor a Christmas greeting for his vote, nor can he rightfully give his vote away. All he can intelligently do is to cast it according to the dictates of his own conscience.

should happen to propose a scheme of liberty, soberly limited, and defined with proper qualifications, he will immediately be outbid by his competitors, who will produce something more splendidly popular." *The Works of Burke*, Vol. IV, pp. 272-73.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article above represents part of Chapter III, *The Pattern of Politics*, a forthcoming book by the author. Another section of this chapter appears in the *American Political Science Review* for February 1940.

Citizens of Tomorrow

University of Toledo's "effective citizenship" course enables students to experiment with practical politics; lays foundation for future participation in civic affairs.

By O. GARFIELD JONES

University of Toledo

CITIZENSHIP training in the past has been upon the basis of a fallacy—that the citizen needs to know all about government and all about the problems with which government has to deal. And the many excellent textbooks on American government testify as to the earnest and able efforts of political scientists to meet this need.

But the fallacy in this concept is first that even the average college student is incapable of understanding our American system of government in appreciable detail because of the tremendous complexity of constitutional and administrative law involved in our federal system plus municipal home rule, and in the separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches—national, state, county, township, and city. Secondly, a brilliant student who might approximate an understanding of this most complex system cannot hope to retain it unless he is using the eight or nine hundred pages of fact in the standard American government text almost every day.

The saddest commentary on the value students place on American government courses today is the frequency with which one hears alumni boast of having forgot everything they were taught in that class. The very tone in which the alumni make this boast is a testimony to their feeling of futility in this attempt to understand principles which the highest courts find so difficult to elucidate, and in the attempt to remember hundreds of pages of concentrated fact.

So long as democracy attempts to operate on the basis of the all-wise and all-competent citizen, it is bound to fail. The

only solution to this angle of the problem is the return to representative government and the short ballot system. The writer's enthusiasm for direct legislation has been waning rapidly these last ten years.

Then what is the problem of training for active citizen participation in a workable system of government? Let us inquire as to the barriers to active citizen participation.

First, there is lack of insight into the basic political processes, that is, policy determination and policy administration. The average owner of an automobile has insight into the general principles of automotive transportation although he probably makes no pretense that he could pass a detailed examination on carburetion, ignition, lubrication, transmission, or the cooling system.

A second set of barriers to active citizen participation is the emotional inhibitions with which he is endowed, either by pre-natal or by post-natal inheritance. Three of these emotional inhibitions having political importance are the disinclination to get up and say something he wants to say at the right moment in a meeting; the disinclination to go to administrative officers with whom he is not acquainted to get specific information about administrative affairs; and the disinclination to go to political workers for help or information.

A third set of barriers to active citizen participation might be called ideological inhibitions. They frequently reinforce the emotional inhibitions. Three of these ideological inhibitions are refusal to cooperate with or even approach politicians because of the belief that politicians are

always sordid and corrupt; refusal to oppose politicians because of the belief that they are invincibly clever and efficient; and refusal to go to government officials for help or information because of the belief that they are corrupt, lazy, or incompetent.

No Training in Schools

Another barrier to active citizen participation is the young citizens' lack of experience in sharing responsibility. Too many of our junior and senior high schools, where most of our citizens get their last bit of formal education, are despotisms, benevolent or otherwise, not representative democracies. Certainly they have the irreducible minimum of "self-government." When the pupil's only participation in school affairs consists of his yelling for his team under the rhythmic commands of a cheer leader, that pupil is well trained to sit by his radio and take orders from demagogic leaders as to how to vote or when to write to his congressman. That pupil hasn't even been encouraged to think for himself as a citizen of the school with an individual responsibility for some phase of the school's welfare and reputation.

At the University of Toledo we have attacked all of these barriers to active citizen participation in government. Furthermore, we are conscious of the fact that there are other barriers to citizen participation which we may not touch in our "Effective Citizenship" course.

In the first place the course is required of all sophomore students in all the colleges on the theory that they must all be citizens. And it might be predicted that college students and college faculties will not object to a required course in political science as a final course in citizenship if the students can be convinced that such a course gives them worth-while training for citizenship duties.

Insight into basic political processes is given by limiting the two-semester study to just three processes. The first two are

subdivisions of policy determination, that is, policy determination at the ballot box and policy determination in a deliberative assembly. The third process is the administration of policy. These processes are taught by means of a rather extensive study of municipal government in a city with a simplified charter. By this device we simplify the problem of achieving insight by giving the student a political organism to study that is relatively as simple as the structure and functioning of the earth worm so frequently given to beginners in biology to dissect and analyze.

Laboratory Assignments

By using the government of Toledo as the basis of our study to supplement a standard text on municipal government we are able to give each student a separate and distinct laboratory assignment in precinct politics and in municipal administration. In this way the student with limited ability to achieve insight by abstract analysis, achieves that insight by means of concrete experience which uses all of his senses.

It is true that we do not have a municipal election every year. But it is true that the political behavior of the citizens of a given precinct is much the same in a state and national election as it is in a municipal election. For instance, a new campaign technique such as the radio talk is used in both local and national elections. In fact, the students get a clearer picture of precinct behavior in a national campaign than in a municipal P. R. election because the national campaign is better organized, is carried on more intensively and for a longer time, and citizens give more obvious indication of their political intentions.

For policy determination in a deliberative assembly we never send the students to council meetings. The class itself serves as the laboratory for this process. First we teach the students the techniques of chairmanship and floor leadership by means of parliamentary contests which compel

each one to preside over meetings and to arise, address the chair, and debate, or make parliamentary motions pertinent to the immediate situation in the meeting. It is this phase of the course which makes it imperative that we have not more than thirty students to a section. This year we have seventeen sections.

Mock Charter Convention

After eight months of studying politics and administration both in the texts and in the laboratory, and after some twelve hours of training in chairmanship and floor leadership, each section elects its own speaker, clerk, and rules committee and resolves itself into a charter convention to consider and adopt proposals for amending the Toledo city charter. The students not elected to office are assigned by the instructor to departmental committees that must draft the proposed amendments. Thus during the month of May the instructor does nothing but sit in the back of the room, to check the class attendance and make a record of every act of participation by each student in the work of that charter convention.

One important purpose of this charter convention is to give the student a chance to integrate his knowledge of politics and administration and the several techniques he has learned into a complex but most valuable technique for active citizen participation in civic affairs.

The emotional inhibitions to active citizen participation are broken down by being repeatedly over-ridden by will power. The timid girl does interview the politician, does interview the city official, does preside as chairman, and does serve as floor leader on occasion, not because she likes to, but because all the other students do it, and she is determined not to be the only "quitter" in the entire student body.

Likewise the ideological inhibitions are broken down by first-hand experience. On personal acquaintance the politician proves to be no more sordid and corrupt than other folk. The bugaboo of politician in-

vincibility is usually annihilated by the fact that the precinct leader is not a political genius and frequently knows less about the precinct politically than does the student who has finished his precinct report. When the precinct leader underestimates the vote for his own candidate, as happened so many times in 1938, and the student, taking the precinct leader's word for it, is penalized one whole letter on his precinct report grade, the prestige of the precinct leader is gone so far as that student is concerned.

Interviewing City Officials

The student who has studied fire prevention, or scout crews, or water filtration and then interviews the official in charge of that activity, usually finds that at least that one official is neither corrupt, lazy, nor incompetent. If, perchance, the student finds that the official he interviews is corrupt, lazy, or incompetent, I am sorry. But at any rate the student has achieved insight into what is. The ideological barrier has not been dispelled in this case, because the ideology happens to coincide with the facts so far as official incompetence or laziness is concerned.

This course includes just two lectures and no text work on public finance. After the Toledo budget for the current year has been published and is a major subject of discussion in the daily press, one lecture is given on the theory of budget-making and one on the current Toledo budget with a copy of the budget in the hands of each student.

The only other lectures in the course are the three on Toledo's political history since 1896. These lectures come immediately after election in November so as to give historical background to the analytical study of the election which the students have just completed in their precinct reports.

These three historical lectures, however, have far more value than this. They tell the students in rather dramatic form how

(Continued on Page 120)

Alabama's Municipal "Tug of War"

Mayor and council battle for administrative supremacy, with odds in favor of the council, in some sixty cities still governed by the almost extinct "council committee."

By ROSCOE C. MARTIN
University of Alabama

ALABAMA has 116 incorporated places of more than one thousand population. In a recent survey which covered about eighty-five of these, seventy were found to have the mayor-council form of government.¹ Of the seventy mayor-council cities and towns, fifty-eight administer their affairs through a system of standing council committees. Let it be noted thus early that these committees are not the legislative committees ordinarily found, but administrative committees charged each with full responsibility for the direction of some major municipal activity. The committees in question, in other words, are those which prevailed generally during the last century when the council ran the city, but which have almost disappeared in the last fifty years.

The movement for a municipal executive reached Alabama in 1907, when a comprehensive municipal code was adopted. That code recognized for the first time the need for a more powerful executive in the larger cities, and attempted to set up such an executive. It provided for an independently elected mayor and designated him as the "chief execu-

tive officer" of the city. By way of implementing this designation, it bestowed on him what were by comparison significant powers, including those of appointing certain officers and employees, removing all officials not selected by the council or chosen by popular vote, and requiring reports at his discretion from municipal officers. In short, it seems clear that it was the intention of the code of 1907 to lay the foundation for a true municipal executive and in the same measure to limit the council's power in the domain of administration.

The code did not, however, satisfactorily reconcile the strong mayor which it purported to create with the strong council which by tradition controlled administration. Hence a tug-of-war almost of necessity ensued between the council and the mayor, and in this contest the mayor was not the winner.² His position un-

²That this struggle is not yet finally resolved is indicated by the account of a council meeting which appeared recently in one of the state's leading newspapers. The account, in part, read: "A stormy session was held between members of the council and Mayor X, the councilmen charging X had hired two additional firemen without consulting the public safety committee. X said it was his 'right as mayor to hire men when I saw fit.'" The council declined to employ the two new firemen and asked that the public

¹See a forthcoming study by Weldon Cooper entitled *Municipal Government and Administration in Alabama*.

doubtedly is stronger since 1907 than it was before, though it is not the place that might have developed from the foundation provided by the code.

In sum, the council has withstood all attacks on its position, and it has been able to do this principally because the code left in its hands control over both finance and personnel. Through this control it continues, as it has for a hundred years, to administer municipal affairs.

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES

The council directs municipal activities largely through the once familiar but now almost forgotten device of administrative committees. The committee system has no statutory basis, aside from the law which grants municipal councils the power to determine their own rules of procedure. The system nevertheless has not been seriously challenged in the courts and is generally accepted without question.

As noted above, fifty-eight of the seventy mayor-council cities and towns of more than one thousand population covered in the survey operate under the committee system. These fifty-eight cities and towns, of which five are between 10,000 and 25,000 in population and seven between 5,000 and 10,000, have some three hundred administrative committees. The committees most frequently found have charge of streets, utilities, finance, sanitation, and police and fire. The larger cities (two of them run to a population of some 20,000 each) have as many as

twelve committees; in smaller places the average number is five. Generally, the number of committees equals or approximates the number of councilmen, which may undoubtedly be explained in terms of the desire of each councilman to serve as chairman of a committee.

In addition to serving as chairman of one committee, a councilman normally serves on at least one and sometimes on several more. The committee ordinarily has three members, who usually are appointed in the larger cities by the council president and in the smaller by the mayor. Of necessity, the life of committees is limited to the terms of councilmen.

CHAIRMAN THE ADMINISTRATOR

The important member of the committee is the chairman. Indeed, the typical committee does not hold regular meetings, but leaves most of its duties to its chairman. That official typically appoints and removes departmental personnel, approves purchases made for his department, and directs the executive head of the department in all matters relating to departmental policies and operations. He is, in short, the effective working link between the department and council. As such, it would be difficult to over-emphasize the importance of his position.

Certain qualifications to the foregoing should be noted. First, the chairman acts not on his own responsibility but in the name of his committee, whose support, however, is usually commanded as a matter of course. Second, action by the committee takes the form of re-

(Continued on Page 115)

safety committee confer with the mayor and submit a report at the next meeting.

Irishmen Like P. R.

New constitution for Eire continues proportional representation which has been used for all elections, both national and local, since 1919.

By ARTHUR W. BROMAGE*
University of Michigan

PRIOR to the establishment of the Irish Free State certain English statesmen, cognizant of the divisions of public opinion in Ireland, had declared for the use of P. R. They were impressed by the importance of utilizing a system of election which would accord representation to minorities. The long-awaited but ill-fated Home Rule Act of 1914 (Government of Ireland Act) provided for an Irish House of Commons in which there were to be 164 members. In any constituency returning three or more members the election was to be held "on the principle of proportional representation" and each elector was to have "one transferable vote."¹ This Government of Ireland Act of 1914 was suspended by another act of the same year.² Irishmen who might have lived to see home rule for Ireland died in defense of the British Empire in France.

Meantime, Nationalist Ireland flamed into revolt in the abortive Easter-week rebellion of 1916. The sacrifice of the leaders of this unsuccessful resort to force of arms added new fuel to the fires of Irish nationalism. In the general election

of 1918, Sinn Fein emerged triumphant except in the northeast counties of Ulster. The successful candidates, resolved not to take their seats in London, met in Dublin, and in January 1919 constituted themselves as the first Dail Eireann.

The United Kingdom was still seeking to govern Ireland and passed a basic Local Government (Ireland) Act in June 1919. To offset the electoral sweep achieved by Sinn Fein in 1918, provision was made in this local government act for the use of P. R. in elections for county, borough, urban, and rural district councillors, "according to the principle of proportional representation, each elector having one transferable vote as defined in this act." A transferable vote was then defined as one: "(a) capable of being given so as to indicate the voter's preference for the candidates in order; and (b) capable of being transferred to the next choice when the vote is not required to give a prior choice the necessary quota of votes, or when, owing to the deficiency in the number of the votes given for a prior choice, that choice is eliminated from the list of candidates."³

The first general trial of proportional representation for Irish local units was held in January 1920. According to contemporary accounts

*Acknowledgment is made to the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan for a grant which made this and other studies in Ireland possible.

¹4 & 5 Geo., chap. 90, sec. 9.-(1).

²4 & 5 Geo. 5, chap. 88, sec. 1.-(1).

³9 & 10 Geo. 5, chap. 19, sec. 12.

in the press, the new system was received most favorably. Sinn Fein won the greatest number of local government victories. "Yet its triumph was not so great as had been expected, and the new form of election brought to light in an interesting and useful way the intermixture of political faiths in all portions of the island. Minorities obtained representation, including Unionists in the south, Sinn Feiners in Ulster, and also Nationalist, Labour and Municipal Reform candidates."⁴ Accounts also stress the general ability of the electorate to understand the system and the favorable public reaction.

P. R. has not abolished party lines or kept national issues out of local elections in southern Ireland, but it has proved to be a workable system, simple enough once the people were accustomed to it. Irish officials consider it a fair system because it reflects proportionally, in representative councils, the respective voting strength of the party and independent candidates.

ADOPTION FOR DAIL ELECTIONS

Prior to the adoption of P. R. by the Irish Free State for use in national elections, the English government had again indicated its belief in the applicability of P. R. to Ireland. The United Kingdom passed a Government of Ireland Act late in 1920. This was never accepted by the south of Ireland, which had, meanwhile, rejected the theory of home rule status within the United Kingdom. Like the local government act of the preceding year, the

new legislation called for the use of P. R. There was to be a House of Commons of Southern Ireland. In any contested election of the full membership, the principle of proportional representation, each elector having one transferable vote, was to be applied.⁵ In 1921, a general election was ordered for the members of the Parliaments of Northern and Southern Ireland. Dail Eireann declared that this election in southern Ireland should be treated as an election of deputies to itself rather than the new House of Commons. The deputies so elected to Dail Eireann later ratified the Anglo-Irish Treaty providing for the Irish Free State.

The adoption of P. R. for the election of members of Dail Eireann under the 1922 constitution of the Irish Free State may be traced to several factors. In 1921 the chairman of the Irish peace delegation had promised the spokesman of the Unionist minority in Southern Ireland that the Unionists would have a fair method of representation. A system of majority elections would have had the effect of excluding the Unionist minority from participation in the government of the Free State. P. R. was the logical fulfillment of this pledge. So the constitution of the Irish Free State of 1922 provided that the members of Dail Eireann should be elected upon "principles of proportional representation."⁶

The electoral act of 1923 fulfilled the constitutional mandate that Dail elections should be in accordance with the principles of proportional

⁴F. A. Ogg, ed., "Proportional Representation in Ireland," *American Political Science Review*, XIV (1920), 324.

⁵10 & 11 Geo. 5. *Government of Ireland Act*, 1920, sec. 14.-(3).

⁶Article XXVI.

representation. It provided for a Dail of 153 members. The electoral constituencies as designated in a schedule to the act were to return from three to nine members.⁷ The scheme of counting follows the principles of the Hare system.

The process of nomination was made a simple one. A candidate must have a proposer and seconder and the signatures of eight other registered electors in the constituency. Frivolous candidacies were discouraged, however, by the requirement of a deposit by the candidate (or someone on his behalf) of the sum of £100 with the returning officer. This deposit was to be forfeited if the candidate obtained less than one-third of the necessary electoral quota in the constituency.

The constitution of the Free State (article XXVII) provided for three representatives each for the National University and Dublin University, and the Electoral Law of 1923 established P. R. as the method to be employed in these university constituencies as well.

MINORITIES REPRESENTED

That P. R. has produced substantial minority representation and has reflected the proportionate strength of major parties can be seen from a brief statistical summary of certain general elections. In that of September 1927, Cumann na nGaedheal had 453,064 first preference votes and obtained 61 seats. Fianna Fail votes and seats were 411,833 and 57 respectively; Labour, 105,271 and 13; Independents, 104,059 and 9; Farm-

ers, 74,723 and 6; National League, 19,000 and 2; and Independent Labour 12,473 and 1. In the general election of 1932, Fianna Fail polled 566,475 first preference votes and won 72 seats; Cumann na nGaedheal, 449,810 and 56; Labour, 98,285 and 7; Farmers, 41,302 and 5; and Independents, 117,333 and 9.

In the general election of 1937 the statistics were as follows: Fianna Fail, 599,638 and 69; Fine Gael, 461,176 and 48; Labour, 132,686 and 13; Independents, 131,494 and 8.

First preference votes do not furnish an absolutely accurate analysis of the strength of the individual parties, as other preferences count in the transfer of votes. On the other hand, the first-choice votes do demonstrate the close correlation between party strength and seats obtained. Substantial minority party representation has resulted; independents have not been excluded. There could be no sweep of Dail seats in a constituency by a party having only a plurality or a majority of the popular votes. Single-member constituencies which center around village-pump politics have been avoided.

The size of the Dail has now been reduced. The Irish Free State was divided by the electoral law of 1935 into 34 constituencies which elect 138 deputies to the Dail. With little exception, these constituencies each elect only three, four, or five members. The county borough of Dublin, with a population of 467,000 out of the national total of 2,965,854, was allotted, on the basis of population, 18 members of the Dail to be elected by four constituencies. There is no under-representation of urban areas

⁷Saorstát Éireann, Public Statutes of the Oireachtas, 1923, No. 12.

in the Dail parallel to the rotten-borough system in American state legislatures.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND P. R.

In southern Ireland two major parties have dominated the political scene. The fundamental issue between them has been the question of the Treaty of 1921. At the time of the Treaty, Sinn Fein split into pro- and anti-treaty factions. These groups became, respectively, Cumann na nGaedheal (later Fine Gael) with Cosgrave as its leader, and Fianna Fail with Eamon de Valera as its head. The only third party which has survived as an important force from the time of the Treaty is the Labour group. Based as it is upon unions of skilled labour, this party has attracted and will probably continue to have a considerable following. With the growth of industrial enterprises, its role will be aggrandized. The Farmers party declined in importance gradually from 1923 to 1932. In the 1933 election, a Center party organized with the support of large farmers won 11 seats but later merged with Cumann na nGaedheal to form the Fine Gael party. Another short-lived group was the National League which won a few seats in 1927. This was a throw-back to Redmond's Irish Nationalist party.

Aside from the issue of external policies, the differences between Fine Gael (Cosgrave) and Fianna Fail (de Valera) have been mainly economic. This rift was in some measure between the "haves" and the "have-nots." Cosgrave attracted the support of the large farmers, of busi-

ness men, and of the white collar workers. The backbone of de Valera's party has been the small farmers of the west who were outside the pale of British influence, nationalistic in outlook, and activated by economic distress.

The Cosgrave government was in power from 1922 to 1932; Fianna Fail since that date. However, in 1932-33, Labour held a balance of power. Again, after the election of 1937, de Valera with 69 votes in a Dail of 138 members found the support of the Labour party (13 deputies) essential to an assured tenure of power. Although Labour has been in an advantageous position, two major parties have dominated the political process since 1922.

Irish party organization is by no means parallel to the American system. In our state governments, the direct primary has made the single-member constituency predominant in selecting party candidates. The absence of centralized control over party candidatures has earmarked American party organization.

Irish local political clubs send delegates to national conventions. The latter, however, see-saw through the resolutions fostered by local clubs. When all the talking is over and all opinions have been aired, the actual results may be the adoption of a few general resolutions. National party executives carry the big stick in their standing committees. While the constituency meetings select local party candidates, these may be vetoed by the national party executive. It is no secret in Ireland that control over candidatures filters down from the top, always, of course, with regard

to the best interests of the party in the local constituency. These national executives who carry so much weight are made up of individuals chosen by parliamentary representatives, by local organizations, by conventions, and by coöptation.

Discipline over candidates has been fostered by the intensity of party strife in the Free State. Party candidates must, before their selection, sign a written document in which they agree to follow the party whip. This practice has resulted in the charge that the T. D.'s in the lower house are gramophone voters. A party having only a slim majority in the Dail counter-balances this weakness in numbers by the rigidity of party discipline. Without P. R. the ruling party from time to time might have had a more preponderant but artificial majority and party discipline might have been relaxed in consequence. It is not to be assumed, however, that this alternative is a desirable one. With local jealousies in control of party machinery, the interest of Ireland as a whole might be sacrificed if it were not for strong party discipline.

P. R. IN THE SENATE

As to its Senate, the Irish Free State faced some peculiar difficulties. There was no hereditary aristocracy to serve as the basis for an upper house with powers to retard the passage of legislation by the lower branch. There was no federal system which demanded a scheme of representation for component units within the Free State. On the other hand, Unionist sentiment was overwhelmingly for a Senate which would

serve as a barrier against too much democracy and too much nationalism. The chairman of the peace delegation promised a Senate to Unionists. The first Senate was composed of sixty members, of whom thirty were elected and thirty nominated by the President of the Executive Council under a constitutional mandate to provide representation for groups or parties not adequately represented in Dail Eireann. The former group was elected by Dail Eireann voting on principles of proportional representation.

The trend toward some scheme of functional representation in Dail Eireann was indicated by an early resolution of the Dail holding it expedient for the President of the Executive Council, prior to the making of appointments, to consult representative bodies, including the Chamber of Commerce, the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal College of Surgeons, the Benchers of the Honourable Society of King's Inn, Dublin, the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland, and the county borough councils. This transitional plan was succeeded by an unusual experiment in the use of P. R.

Under the "permanent" plan, one-fourth of the sixty senators were to retire every three years. An election was then to be held to fill these fifteen vacancies and others resulting from death or resignation. A panel of three times as many candidates as vacancies was to be prepared—Dail Eireann and the Seanad, voting under P. R., nominating two-thirds and one-third respectively of the panel members. To the group so

selected were to be added the names of the Senators seeking re-election.

This panel was submitted to an electorate composed of all citizens of the Free State complying with the electoral laws and having attained the age of thirty. Again P. R. was to be used, the entire Free State serving as a single constituency. As the trial and error method proved, this was a severe test, used only in 1925 under peculiar difficulties. Fianna Fail, the second largest party, did not participate. The Executive Council failed to take a strong lead. Interest touched a low ebb for the Free State and less than one out of every four voters participated. The low level of electoral participation resulted in election by small quotas. Candidates who represented small blocs of voters were carried on to victory. A candidate from Monaghan did unusually well in the poll, because Monaghan turned out an 80 per cent participation in the election.⁸ In spite of the fact that the voter had to mark a ballot containing some 76 candidates and had the opportunity of enumerating as many preferences, the number of spoiled ballots was small. There were 305,701 valid and only 9,466 invalid ballots.⁹

To secure the best results, the Hare system of P. R. should be applied to a constituency selecting from five to nine officeholders. A greater number of offices produces a ballot of impractical dimensions. If

a decided lead is taken by one or more groups, P. R. functions to better advantage. In Dail elections this lead is taken by the respective parties in promoting the candidacies of their best prospects in the constituencies. In various city council elections in the United States, initiative has been taken by informal or formal citizen organizations and political parties. In the Irish Senate election of 1925, the absence of powerful leadership left an apathetic electorate.

SENATE PLAN CHANGED

The Senate was later submitted to more political surgery. A plan of indirect election was established by a group of amendments passed in 1928. The Senators were to have nine-year terms of office, one-third of them retiring every three years. A panel was to be created with twice as many candidates as vacancies. The Dail had the privilege of nominating one-half of the candidates; the Seanad, the other half. Then the selections were to be made by a joint ballot of Dail and Seanad voting under principles of proportional representation. By this time, however, Fianna Fail had entered the Dail as the most important party in opposition. The process of nomination to the panels for the Seanad became thoroughly tinged with partisanship. Beneath the surface, the party executives showed their hands in making nominations and only such number of nominations as would conform to voting strength and ensure the best electoral results for the party. Party membership after the election of 1931 stood as follows: Cumann na nGaedheal, 23; Fianna Fail, 12;

⁸See Warner Moss, *Political Parties in the Irish Free State*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1933, p. 50.

⁹Andrew E. Malone, "Party Government in the Irish Free State," *Political Science Quarterly*, Sept. 1929, p. 368.

Labour, 6; Farmers, 2; and Independents, 16.¹⁰

Beyond question, the old Senate of the Free State performed a useful function in improving and delaying legislation, but it had become the plaything of party politics. When de Valera came into power in 1932, he resented the process by which legislation approved by a Fianna Fail majority in the Dail was delayed by a Seanad in which Cosgrave's influence persisted. Criticism of the Seanad culminated in the abolition of that body by constitutional amendment in 1936. Then, when the Dail became a one-house legislature and constituent assembly (bills and constitutional amendments alike being made into law by the signature of the chairman of the Dail), it was indeed fortunate that the minority groups in the Free State had a substantial representation in the Dail through the workings of P. R.

BUNREACHT NA hEIREANN, 1937

The use of P. R. in the Irish Free State from 1922 to 1937 left no room for argument as to the acceptance of that system in the new constitution of 1937. This Bunreacht na hEireann was ratified by the voters on July 1, 1937. It declares Eire (Ireland) to be a sovereign, independent, democratic state, succeeding the Irish Free State. The new state is associated by statute with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Although there were many debates in the Dail as to the framework of the new government of Ireland and the liberties of the people of Ireland,

it was a tribute to P. R. that this principle was accepted by all groups for all national elections. Under Bunreacht na hEireann, the members of the Dail Eireann (lower house) must be elected by proportional representation with the single transferable vote. A new Senate based on vocational representation and P. R. was also established. The President of Ireland, according to the new constitution, is elected by direct vote of the people under the single transferable vote.

The constitution makes no reference to local government elections but these continue, under the provisions of statutes which remain in force, to be in accordance with P. R. Thus, after fifteen years of experience, the people of Southern Ireland again put their seal of approval upon this method by adopting it for all national elections and continuing it in force for local elections in the new state of Ireland.

The constitutional provisions of Bunreacht na hEireann with respect to the Senate are of peculiar interest and complexity. The new Senate has sixty members. Eleven are to be nominated by the Prime Minister. Three are elected by the National University and three by the University of Dublin under P. R. Forty-three are elected in a manner provided by law from panels of candidates representing certain group interests. The nature of the electorate which is to select the 43 members is not determined by the constitution. It is required, however, that the election must be held according to the principles of proportional representation and by use of a

¹⁰Nicholas Mansergh, *The Government of the Irish Free State*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1934, p. 100.

secret postal ballot. Before each general election of senators, nominations must be made as determined by law from panels representing: (1) national language, literature, art, and education; (2) agriculture, allied interests, and fisheries; (3) labour, whether organized or unorganized; (4) industry and commerce (including banking, finance, accountancy, engineering, and architecture; (5) public administration and social services.

By legislation of 1937, provision was made for the selection of forty-three senators by an electoral college. This college is made up of members of the Dail and other electors selected by the county councils and county borough councils. Each of these 31 councils selects seven electors by P. R. This makes a college of 355 members: 138 members of the Dail and 217 electors chosen by local governing bodies. Nominations are made partly by members of the Dail and partly by registered nominating bodies of a vocational character. By special provision of the legislation 21 of the 43 senators must be elected from candidates who have been nominated by registered nominating bodies.

Since the adoption of *Bunreacht na hEireann* two elections have been held for membership in the Senate. *Fianna Fail* obtained a majority of the seats in each election. The Senators have performed a useful function in debating the general principles of national policy and in suggesting technical amendments to bills. However, they have not exercised their power to delay legislation.

Further, the vocational system of

nomination did not result in a truly vocational legislative body. In fact, the upper house does not operate to any important degree along vocational lines. Debate in the Senate centers principally around the opposition of *Fine Gael* and independent members to de Valera policies. The most important result of the use of P. R. for election of the new Senate has been to provide representation to minority groups, thus assuring them a second chance to express their opposition to the government. The Dail and Dail elections continue to be the center of political life in Ireland.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1938

Late in May 1938, de Valera's *Fianna Fail* was defeated in the Dail on a technical question. Two Cosgrave members moved that the Dail create a board of arbitration to deal with grievances in the civil service. This motion carried by one vote. At the time de Valera and Sean T. O'Kelly, *An Tanaiste*, were both absent from Dublin. For some time de Valera had chafed under the necessity of depending on the votes of Labour deputies to support his government. He made this defeat the occasion to go to the country and ask for a working majority. He unquestionably had in mind the golden opportunity of reaping the popularity of his favorable Anglo-Irish Agreements, signed earlier in the year.

During the 1938 campaign P. R. proved its staying power in an unexpected way. The repercussions were so decided when de Valera indicated at one stage that P. R. might

(Continued on Page 144)

Census Bureau Trains Its Staff

Five courses with total enrollment of over two hundred employees taught by trained staff members who give their services on a volunteer basis.

By CLARENCE A. KELLNER

*Division of State and Local Government
Bureau of the Census*

THE development of in-service training on both the federal and municipal levels of government remains in the embryo stage, despite the fact that more and more students of personnel problems have urged the training of employees *after* they have been inducted into the public service. Before in-service training is generally accepted as a function of personnel administration, a liberal exchange of ideas must take place between those active in the personnel field both in municipalities and in the federal government.

Municipalities up to the present time have been largely concerned only with post-entry training of policemen and firemen.¹ A wider application of in-service training ideas is to be found in the federal government where programs vary from the broad plan of the Department of Agriculture, which offers several thousand public employees regular graduate work in various academic fields, to the intensive training program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which concentrates on technical training of picked recruits, and calls in at intervals regular employees for

attendance at "refresher" courses.²

One federal agency which has carried on an interesting program of in-service training in the nation's capital is the Bureau of the Census. The development of this program during the past five years should be of interest to municipalities and federal agencies alike, because it has introduced some interesting innovations in the training field.³ Designed for a large number of persons at the clerical and lower professional levels, the Census Bureau's program is easy to organize, and requires only incidental expense to keep it going. Furthermore, it can be described as a type of training that is popular with the public employee, that is, it is offered in conjunction with his work but is not compulsory, and to take advantage of it the employee need pay no prohibitory fees.

Actually, the Bureau of the Census has two training programs. One has resulted from the exigencies of

¹For a broad discussion of in-service training in the federal government see Earl Brooks, *In-Service Training of Federal Employees*, published by the Civil Service Assembly in 1938; and John Edward Devine, *Post-Entry Training in the Federal Service*, a mimeographed report circulated by the University of Chicago in August 1935.

²For a discussion of a similar in-service training program, already in operation in Detroit, Michigan, see Laurence Michelson, "University In-Service Training for Public Employees," *Public Management*, October 1939, pp. 229-301.

³*Toward Competent Government*, a report prepared by the American Municipal Association in cooperation with the International City Managers' Association and the Civil Service Assembly (mimeo. 54 pp.), Chicago 1936, p. 17.

the moment, and is concerned with training the thousands who will, in a few months, be actively engaged in the taking of the decennial censuses relating to population and distribution, and the quinquennial and biennial censuses relating to agriculture and manufactures. The area managers, the district supervisors, the enumerators—all of these must be trained for a job that must be rapid-ly and accurately completed.

The other program is in reality the permanent in-service training program of the Bureau of the Census, and will be emphasized here. It is an instructional program offered to the regular force of the Bureau of the Census designed to give the personnel in Washington, who tabulate and analyze statistical data, training in statistics and related subject-matter.

In-service training began in the Bureau of the Census in 1935 under the leadership of Oliver C. Short, then in charge of personnel for the bureau.⁴ An observant personnel officer, he believed that persons in a statistical bureau might perform their respective tasks more effectively if they received a broader background in the subject at college level. The Census Bureau, recognizing this need and deciding to do something about it, quietly announced two statistical courses of six weeks' duration. Some optimistic prophet had estimated that over one hundred persons in the Bureau would want to take the work. When the applications were counted, it was found that over five hundred employees wanted instruction. Unfortunately facilities were limited

and only two hundred and fifty-four applicants could be accepted.

Today, in its fifth year, the program is directed by Dr. Alfred N. Watson, assistant chief statistician of the Division of Statistical Research. He is assisted by Presley W. Melton, expert in in-service training,⁵ and by a staff of research assistants. An Educational Advisory Committee, comprised of technicians of the bureau, was appointed for the first time this year by the director of the census, Hon. William Lane Austin.

This year the Census Bureau is offering five courses on the semester basis. Included are elementary accounting, municipal accounting, state and local government, statistical methods, and a survey of census statistics. Courses such as these, in which the employee voluntarily enrolls, cut across specific job duties and give the employee opportunity to master the tools which are essential in statistical and analytical work.

ENROLLMENT INCREASES

Since the first year, employee enthusiasm for the training program has continued. Today there is a total class enrollment of over two hundred employees. Courses are organized on the lecture-discussion basis.⁶ Exami-

⁵Mr. Melton was recently appointed by the Bureau of the Census from the Department of Agriculture where he was director of training.

⁶The Civil Service Commission of Cincinnati has successfully used the lecture-discussion method in training foremen and supervisors. Two conference series have been held in the Division of Highway Maintenance and one in the Division of Waste Collection. These divisions have a large number of employees doing manual labor, and the problems in personnel and management that face the supervisor are many. Recently the commission found the

⁴At the present time Mr. Short is director of personnel for the Department of Commerce.

nations are held, the completion of problems or exercises is sometimes required, and a grade is given at the close of the semester. Academic credit for the courses can be had by special arrangement with a local university in Washington. For this credit employees must pay a fee and usually write a term paper. Additional training, however, not academic credit, seems to be the objective of those who enroll in the Census Bureau's training program, because few employees have attempted to obtain college credit for the courses.

There are two features of this training program that are especially interesting. One is that the classes meet from 3:30 to 4:30 in the afternoon. With this arrangement, in-service training is taken half on the employer's time and half on the employee's time, since the work day in the bureau continues until 4 o'clock. This half-hour "gift" is recognition by the bureau that trained employees contribute to the efficiency and promotion of the work. The gesture has had a salutary effect on the training program because employees enroll with added enthusiasm and determination.

EMPLOYEES BECOME INSTRUCTORS

A second interesting feature of the training program is that employees of the bureau with the necessary background in education and experience are utilized as instructors. Their services are voluntary, and they are not remunerated for their time and effort. That this program of in-service training has been expanding

over five years is proof that capable men have been generous with their talents. As a group, these instructors are busy men. They are sacrificing not only time during the late afternoon, but also several hours in the evening preparing lectures and correcting papers. It should be remembered that their generosity has kept down the cost of training, and at the same time has insured a strong teaching corps for the benefit of all employees.

Although the development of this training program has been commendable, it is not intended to create the impression that all of it has been smooth sailing. Last fall, when a questionnaire was circulated throughout the several divisions of the bureau, over nine hundred requests for various courses were made. Five courses which were requested could not be given,⁷ because capable instructors either could not be found in the bureau or could not be persuaded to undertake the teaching burden. This is a decennial census year, and the work of the bureau increases many times over. Having this in mind, some employees were unwilling to assume the additional burden of teaching a class, and in other cases superior officers were reluctant to allow qualified employees to undertake the added responsibility.

The real test of this in-service training program is yet to come. In 1940 the additional work of taking a decennial census will increase the

conference series could be used advantageously for discussing with the police officer his problems of supervision.

⁷These courses were: public administration, statistical cartography, government correspondence, economic geography, and research methods in statistics. There were also scattered requests for other courses.

bureau's usual staff of about seven hundred employees in Washington to nearly seven thousand. Area and district managers and enumerators, totaling more than 130,000 persons, will be employed in the field. The problem of training will necessarily be focused on these employees. Area managers have already been trained in Washington, and plans made months ago for the training of the enumerators are being tested.

Will the strain of all the rush work accompanying a decennial census lessen interest in the regular training program? There is, of course, a possible danger here, but the program has been organized with the necessary flexibility so that it can continue under great pressure. The leaders believe that the value of the training, as demonstrated not only by improved morale of employees, but also by the higher type of work produced, is sufficient cause for giving impetus to the program.

EXPANSION TO CONTINUE

The in-service training program of the Bureau of the Census has been in a developmental stage for five years. Those who have been responsible for the program do not claim that all techniques are established, that all procedure has been determined. Expansion of the program will continue, and organization will change. Even now the Educational Advisory Committee is attempting to determine the feasibility of giving some types of training entirely on the employer's time, and other types entirely on the employee's time. New courses are being contemplated and other prob-

lems are being considered.⁵

It is certain that the Bureau of the Census, although its training program is not finally established, has been laying the foundation for a program of in-service training that may some day be extended to the entire Department of Commerce. Although Executive Order No. 7916, of June 24, 1933, placed new responsibilities on the personnel heads of the various departments and agencies of the government for the development of in-service training programs, no appropriations for this personnel function were made by Congress. When funds are appropriated, and departments and agencies generally expand their training programs, the Department of Commerce will undoubtedly gain much from the experience of the Bureau of the Census.

The failure of Congress to appropriate funds so that the executive order relating to training might be carried out has caused many federal agencies to delay the development of a departmental in-service training program. Municipalities, on the other hand, have been more fortunate. The George-Deen act, passed by Congress in 1916, made funds available to municipalities for the promotion of in-service training programs.⁶

⁵A large number of employees requested a course dealing with government correspondence last fall. Recently each division chief designated three members of his division to enter a five weeks' course in government letter-writing, with classes meeting for two hourly sessions each week. From this group will come suggestions for a course of this type to be offered to all employees of the bureau.

⁶See Arnold Miles, "In-service Training for Municipal Employees," *Public Management*, April 1933, pp. 107-109.

Federal funds must be matched by the municipality, and limited budgets have no doubt restricted extensive use of the terms of the act. Nevertheless, the possibility in the municipal field of developing new techniques in the training of public employees is great.

The merit system of personnel administration has been stressed for over half a century, but only now are administrators beginning to face the important problem of training. The day is not far distant when there will be a wider appreciation of the fact that "the growth of the employee cannot be left entirely to chance and the ingenuity of the employee."¹⁰ When that time comes, pioneering work in in-service training, such as that done by the Bureau of the Census, will point out new paths of progress to those who seek to train employees after they have entered the public service.

ALABAMA'S MUNICIPAL "TUG OF WAR"

(Continued from Page 102)

commendations to the council, whose approval again may be assumed except in the most unusual cases. Third, in law the mayor has certain administrative duties—he may, for example, require reports from department heads, a power invoked so infrequently as to be of little or no real value—though one who observes

him in action would not accord him a very important position in the typical city. The qualifications, therefore, are more imposing in form than in practice, and they in no wise vitiate the general conclusion that the real administrative heads of the city are the council committees, or more accurately the chairmen of those committees.

It should be noted that, while cities and towns employing standing council administrative committees are neither numerous nor large (the number fifty-eight, the size 1,000 to 25,000), they constitute an important group among Alabama municipalities in terms of both total numbers and gross population in incorporated places. In these cities is found a system of administrative supervision which has come down from another century, though a very similar one is still employed in the English borough. The practice of municipal administration by council committees has meant that no strong municipal executive has developed, for the council has stood its ground to such effect that the mayor in most instances is little more than its presiding officer. Alabama mayor-council cities, in short, have weighed management by a strong executive against council administration through committees and have preferred the latter. In this they have set themselves against a current which has flowed in the opposite direction for almost a century and which has been especially strong in the last fifty years.

¹⁰*Better Government Personnel*, Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935, p. 46.

Public Administration Group Organizes

*American Society for Public Administration
holds initial meeting at Washington, D. C.*

By WILLIAM E. MOSHER

Syracuse University

FOR a number of years persons actively interested in the field of public administration have felt the need of a common meeting ground for the growing number of public officials, researchers, and teachers of public administration. Specialized literature has appeared in profusion, and numerous groups of those engaged in work of a technical nature have developed their own organizations, but nowhere has there been an organization representing the broad administrative field.

The need for a move in this direction was recognized officially last year by both the American Political Science Association and the Governmental Research Association. At its fall meeting in 1939, the latter organization authorized the appointment of a special committee to draw up plans for the launching of a society of the general character described above. The American Political Science Association, meantime, appointed a committee to establish closer relationship with public officials. On learning that the organization of a new society was being discussed, the Political Science Association agreed to support the work of the Organizing Committee and coöperate in holding several joint sessions with the proposed society at its annual Christmas meeting.

In December, 1939, invitations to attend an organization meeting in Washington were sent by the committee appointed on the initiative of the Governmental Research Association to several hundred key persons throughout the country whose names had been suggested as interested in the launching of such an organization. It was planned that the meeting extend over two days—one day before the meeting of

the American Political Science Association and the second to consist of joint sessions.

Many Interested

The response to the invitations was more than gratifying. Almost five hundred persons registered indicating their interest, and many others who could not attend requested that additional information be sent them. One hundred and twenty-five persons applied for membership immediately.

The two-day meeting opened with a luncheon on Wednesday. It was attended by some four or five hundred persons, many of them holding key positions in federal, state, and local government agencies. With Louis Brownlow presiding, Leonard D. White explained the operation of the British Institute for Public Administration since its founding many years ago. The writer then outlined plans and prospects for a similar organization in this country. Following a dinner address by Dr. Harlow on "Research and Planning as a Function of Administration and Management," the business and organization meeting was held.

It was decided by those present to name the new organization the American Society for Public Administration, and a constitution was presented and adopted. The constitution outlines the purpose of the society to be "to facilitate the exchange of knowledge and results of experience among persons interested in or engaged in the field of public administration; to stimulate more extensive discussion, research, and experimentation in administrative policies and practices involved in the management of public

services; to encourage the collection, compilation, and dissemination of information on matters relating to public administration; to foster a continuous consideration of the problems of administration with reference to their general economic, social, and political implication; and to advance generally the science, processes, and art of public administration."

Officers elected at the meeting were as follows: president, William E. Mosher; vice president, Rowland Egger; and members of the council, Frederick Bartlett, Louis Brownlow, John M. Carmody, Leslie M. Gravlin, Luther Gulick, Julia Henderson, Samuel May, Emery Olson, and William Sponsler III. The constitution provides that the three most recent past presidents shall also have seats on the council, but since there are at present no past presidents, the president, as authorized, appointed William Anderson, William A. Jump, and Lent D. Upson to fill the vacancies.

Distinguished Speakers

On the second day of the meeting, Charles A. Beard addressed a luncheon held jointly with the American Political Science Association on the subject, "Administration: A Key to Good Government." The dinner meeting was also a joint affair, with Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, speaking on "Emerging Problems in Public Administration."

During the two-day meeting panel discussions were held on the following subjects: "Decentralization and the Problem of Control," "Boundaries on Administrative Discretion," "University Training for Careers in Governmental Research," "Public Administration," and "Advances in Personnel Administration" (the last three being joint sessions with the American Political Science Association).

Since it is intended to keep membership democratic and representative of as broad a group as possible, dues have been made low and reduced rates provided for

younger members. Members are assessed five dollars a year, and junior members (persons twenty-eight years of age or under) three dollars. Persons wishing to be listed as sustaining members may pay ten dollars or more a year. The constitution states that "any person interested in the objectives and purposes of the society shall be eligible for membership." With no distinction or discrimination being made among prospective members, it is anticipated that a considerable membership will be enrolled within a short time.

Objectives of the Society

The immediate program of the society embraces four principal projects. A meeting of the entire membership is planned each year, and it is hoped that close cooperation with the American Political Science Association may be maintained. A permanent secretariat will be set up in the near future, in a location readily accessible and near other centers of governmental activity, to act as a central clearing house for all business of the society. Regional and local chapters will be encouraged wherever membership and interest warrant. It is anticipated that the vitality of the society will be supplied by the establishment of a number of active local chapters. And, finally, a quarterly journal devoted to subjects of general interest to public officials, researchers, students, and teachers of public administration will be issued. The scope and character of the journal will be determined largely by the size of the membership. Other projects will be developed as soon as sufficient funds are forthcoming.

Invitations to membership are being sent currently to persons who have been active in the field of public administration or who have already expressed an interest in the society. Present prospects are very promising. It is hoped that the response will be such as to make the society a vital factor in promoting thought and discussion on matters and problems of an

(Continued on Page 144)

The Researcher's Digest: February

Those wayward governmental expenditures in Baltimore, Rochester, and all points north; western researchers confer; is governmental research a science?

NO Drinks on the House" was the headline in a New York City newspaper over a story on the banishment of six water-coolers from the Yonkers city offices by the newly appointed city manager. In the same spirit of careful economy is couched the 1939 issue of the report which the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** annually makes upon city budget revenue and expense.

An eighty-eight-page mimeographed, bound volume—longer and more thorough than previous reports—embodies the commission's exhaustive comments on the state of the city's pocketbook. Twenty-one pages of descriptive analysis, bulwarked, of course, by tables showing trends as well as present conditions, are followed by sixty pages of recommendations. There are fifteen suggestions relating to fiscal administration, thirteen suggestions relating to personnel administration and payroll, twenty-four suggestions relating to operating systems and methods, eleven suggestions relating to administrative structure. All suggestions have economy and efficiency as their primary purpose.

The commission came to three major conclusions regarding the financial situation in which the city of Baltimore now finds itself: (a) "The good financial condition of the city of Baltimore now is endangered by a tendency to rapidly increase public spending and to accelerate debt-making"; (b) "To obtain new sources of substantial revenue is a difficult procedure requiring coöperation by the state legislature and at best is but another indirect way into the same pocketbook; to increase the present tax levy would have doubtful results because the present burden has about reached the taxpayer's capacity

to pay willingly"; (c) "To keep the cost of municipal government within the income now available requires searching examination of the city's personnel, its administrative procedures, and operating methods for the purpose of effecting greater efficiency and economy."

Some of the major recommendations of the commission, in pursuance of point (c) are: that a capital planning procedure be instituted; that budget-making be improved; that studies be made of schools and the shift in population; that the eligibility of relief clients be re-checked; that a method be studied of rotating clients to enable the relief funds to give primary aid to a greater number and to discourage persons from remaining public charges; that the city charter be revised, simplified, and clarified. In the latter connection, the commission recommends the adoption of proportional representation.

Except for Relief—

Contrasting with the mood of the Baltimore research organization is that of the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Rochester, New York**. The lead article of the December issue of the bureau's monthly bulletin headlines the question "Has Rochester Reduced the Cost of Government?" Upon analysis of costs since 1920, the bureau answers "yes," albeit it is a carefully qualified yes. By deducting the cost of welfare from other operating expenses (which do not include debt service) the bureau came to the conclusion that "the operating expense of the city government (disregarding welfare) in 1938 was actually some half a million dollars less than the corresponding expense in 1927, a dozen years previous . . . and \$2,200,000 below the peak in 1931."

The advent of council-manager government corresponded with the beginning of the end of sharp rises in government costs, the bureau reports. The rate of increase was retarded in 1927 to 1931, the first four years of the manager plan, then costs were sharply cut during the depression, and finally rose slightly in the past few years, as restorations were made in vital services. In the whole situation the bureau finds "a record of achievement for those who have been in control of city finances and a message of hope to the oppressed taxpayer."

Canadian Cities Economize

In Canada, too, local government spending has been decreasing, reports the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada**, in the December 29 issue of *Canadian Taxation*. A study of net municipal expenditures of sixteen representative cities shows that 1936 marked the first year of decrease. In 1929 the cities were spending \$47.23 per capita, including municipal and school costs as well as the cities' share of direct unemployment relief. Per capita expenditures climbed to \$55.80 in 1935, and had decreased to \$50.98 in 1938.

An analysis of the reasons for the reductions shows that they varied from city to city. In Victoria there were decreased carrying charges on a refunded debt; in Edmonton and Calgary, too, refunding reduced charges but welfare costs were also decreased; elsewhere increased population and increased grants-in-aid from the provincial legislature were responsible. In general, expenditures in the sixteen cities increased for education, highways, health and sanitation, and general administration, decreased for welfare, protection of persons and property, recreation, and local improvement debt charges.

"The Old Old Story"

"More than one hundred years ago, a war was fought over the question of taxation without representation. At that time the argument was one between people who

lived on opposite sides of the globe. Since then, the old question is raised periodically in some form or other, but in 1940 it has been narrowed down from world-wide proportions to the boundary lines of single states and to the counties within."

Thus does the **Dayton Research Association** revive "The Old Old Story" (title of its January 4 bulletin) which constitutes another aspect of the question of governmental expenditure. Whence does the ultimate governmental authority issue, from area or from population? In Ohio, the Dayton bureau points out, "representatives are sent to Columbus using the counties as units." An amusing map portrays the familiar result. "The members of the General Assembly are divided into two groups. On the one side are those coming from the cities and urban communities. On the other side are the rural representatives, who, by the nature of the plan of representation, are far in the majority. When a law is to be considered affecting one or the other of the two groups, a contest results resembling a football game."

Two possible solutions to the problem are suggested. One would involve reapportionment. The other would require all cities in the state to adopt charters embodying broader powers of home rule.

That Research May Work

"Putting Governmental Research to Work" was the central problem to which the Western Governmental Research Association addressed itself at its second annual conference at Berkeley, California, in October. According to a forty-six-page report on the proceedings of the meeting, discussion centered around the following issues: presenting the results of research more effectively; utilizing research in the legislative and administrative problems of government; and adapting governmental research to the needs of a nation during war time. A committee on cartography and nomenclature presented its report at one of the important panel meetings.

Kansas City Science

Kansas City's Civic Research Institute has just issued a striking red, white, and blue booklet telling the whys and hows of governmental research in Kansas City. Apparently to emphasize the sometimes mislaid truth that governmental research is, indeed, a *pukka* science, the photograph on the cover portrays a white-coated lab worker peering earnestly into a microscope with two racks of test tubes nearby.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Finance

Canada's Governmental Debt Record During the Period 1913-1919. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation*, December 14, 1939. 4 pp.

Towards Greater Efficiency and Economy in the Baltimore Municipal Government. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., October 1939. 82 pp.

Cost of Government in Canada. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation*, December 29, 1939. 4 pp.

Municipal Finances in New Jersey. New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Department of Governmental Research, November 15, 1939. 18 pp.

Has Rochester Reduced the Cost of Government? Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research*, December 1939. 1 p.

Legislative Representation

The Old Old Story. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, January 4, 1940. 1 p.

Tax Rates

Two Decades of Tax Rates. Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., *The Public Purse*. December 31, 1939. 4 pp.

Voting

How Rochester Votes. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research*, December 1939. 1 p.

Research

Proceedings, Second Annual Conference, Western Governmental Research Association, at Berkeley, California, October 26, 27 and 28, 1939. 46 pp.

CITIZENS OF TOMORROW

(Continued from Page 100)

two citizens, "Golden Rule" Sam Jones and Brand Whitlock, broke the shackles that had chained the Toledo city government to a national party organization. This narrative shows the students how high-minded citizens with ability and determination may achieve great things for their community by individual effort. This feature of the course, which we call "personified idealism," is quite important in developing that *urge to do something* which is so vital in any course designed to train for active citizen participation in civic affairs.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered before Forty-fifth Annual Conference on Government of National Municipal League, November 17, 1939.

Comments in Brief

Reformers Take Note

EVIDENTLY we agree that publicity through newspapers, meetings, and other channels, naturally constitutes one factor in waging a successful political campaign. But the real secret of victory rests in gaining the support of the key men or women in a majority of the influential groups concerned. This seems to be the strategy of the professional politicians. It should be the procedure also of the forces of good government. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES (quoted in the *Detroit Civic Searchlight*).

A Proud City Record

A CITY which operates as Jackson does on a drastic tax limitation has real occasion for pride when it can function as this community now is functioning. Jackson has lost the run-down-at-the-heels look which marked so many Michigan cities in the early days of depression and tax limitations. Pavements have been expanded and well maintained. A considerable amount has been spent on expensive new equipment such as the new fire department pumper costing \$11,000, a \$9,000 street sweeper, a new police patrol and new police cars and motorcycles.

What is really remarkable is that these things have been accomplished without incurring a deficit and without borrowing such as was the rule in recent previous years. On top of this, the sinking fund has been kept intact; and the city actually is better off financially than it has been at any time since the depression tornado leveled tax revenues. . .

Jackson goes into the new year and a new city administration a solvent, sound, well managed municipality! *Jackson, Michigan, Citizen-Patriot.*

Where There's a Will

THE city of Toledo, Ohio, wanted to continue as a member of the United States Conference of Mayors. But the resident state examiner made withdrawal imperative—almost. He ruled that the payment of \$250, annual dues to the conference, was an illegal use of city funds. He made a finding against the city for dues paid for the previous six months, and prepared to make another finding if dues for the current half were paid.

Martin S. Dodd, Law Director, saw a way out, however. The councilmen were agreed that the work of the conference in research on legislative and administrative data was worth \$250 a year. So they named Paul V. Betters, executive secretary of the Conference of Mayors, as resident legislative tax analyst for Toledo in Washington at an annual salary of \$250. ALFRED W. CHERRY.

The Taxpayer Pays

IN CHINA taxes are sometimes levied thirty years in advance. In Canada we get the same result by long term bond issues. The taxpayer does the paying in both cases. *Municipal Review of Canada.*

Origin of Special Assessment Levies

THE first instance of a levy of special assessments in this country is believed to be the record of a New York street paving project.

In 1667 Mrs. Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt couldn't keep her house clean because of the dust, so she aroused her neighbors and got their support in petitioning the burgomasters and schepens of New York City to have the street paved.

A contract was awarded and a rude pavement of cobblestones was laid. Because of this, the name of the street was changed to Stone Street, the name it still bears. The cost of paving was apportioned among the petitioners. *Editorial Research Reports.*

City Manager Plan in the News

The success of the manager plan is becoming more and more an item of current news. A number of most excellent articles on the subject have appeared recently. The following list is significant.

"The Government of the City of Oakland." *Western City*, Los Angeles, California, September 1939.

"The Industrial Town of Tomorrow." *Factory Management and Maintenance*, New York City, September and October 1939.

"City Manager: An Answer to Political Spoils." *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, January 19, 1940.

"Know Your Government." A series of fifteen articles in the *Globe*, Amarillo, Texas, November 13 to 29, 1939, on city management in that community.

"The Lowdown on City Manager." A series of thirty-odd articles on the manager plan in as many communities. *Herald-Statesman*, Yonkers, New York, beginning October 9, 1939.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 86)

served as a member of the League's Committees on Instruction in Municipal Government, and on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics; and also of President Taft's Efficiency and Economy Commission in 1912, and the Maryland commission on efficiency and economy (1915). In addition to his important works on administrative and constitutional law, he was the author of books on *Municipal Home Rule* (1895), *Municipal Problems* (1897), *City Government in the United States* (1904), and *Municipal Government* (1909).

JOHN A. FAIRLIE

University of Illinois

Contributors in Review

ON SABBATICAL leave from the University of Michigan in 1936-37, **Arthur W. Bromage** (*Irishmen Like P.R.*) settled in Dublin, Irish Free State, whence comes his first-hand information on P.R. abroad. Last summer he returned to Dublin. Professor Bromage is known for his work on county and local government as the author of *American County Government* (1933), co-author with Thomas H. Reed of *Organization and Cost of County and Township Government* (1933), and member of Michigan and National Municipal League committees on county government. He also wrote *State Government and Administration in the United States* in 1936.

THE man who made college students an important factor in Toledo local politics is **O. Garfield Jones** (*Citizens of Tomorrow*). Professor Jones punctuated his early studies at various midwestern and western universities with positions in the military, educational, and governmental service in the Philippines. Besides his publications on citizenship, he has written widely on the Philippines (including two stories as well as many articles) and on parliamentary procedure. Since 1919 he has headed the department of political science at the University of the City of Toledo. Professor Jones's students formed the youth bloc which helped give Toledo the council-manager plan a few years ago.

CLARENCE A. KELLNER (*Census Bureau Trains Its Staff*) was responsible for the recent reports of the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census dealing with state and city-wide proposals voted upon in the elections of 1939. Since his graduation from Doane College, Nebraska, in 1938, Mr. Kellner has worked for two levels of government—as an interne in Cincinnati and in his present capacity with the federal government. He was born in Scribner, Nebraska, in 1916.

ROSCOE C. MARTIN (*Alabama's Municipal "Tug of War"*) came upon the governmental oddity of which he writes in the course of a just completed survey of municipal government made jointly by the Department of Regional Planning Studies of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama. He is director of the latter organization, as well as professor at the university. Professor Martin formerly occupied a similar position at the University of Texas, and was once chief research technician of the Committee on Urbanism of the National Resources Committee.

LIFE, not printed documents, says **J. T. Salter** (*A Smile Is the Best Argument*) is the subject matter of his writings on political science, and his chief interest is training people for citizenship. *Boss Rule—Portraits in City Politics* (1935) was the result of first-hand research into the habitat and habits of Philadelphia politicians of the Vare persuasion, and *The American Politician* (1938), of which Dr. Salter was editor, was a collection of short biographies of political leaders. Professor Salter teaches political science at the University of Wisconsin.

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

Kentucky's Legislative Council Reorganized

Knoxville Again under Manager

State Manager for California?

Edited by
H. M. OLMSTED

The Legislative Council of Kentucky has been more or less dormant for several months. One of the first official acts of the new Governor, who was inaugurated on December 11, 1939, was to seek a reorganization of this legislative planning agency.

As nine of the sixteen council members had not been re-elected to the legislature, the Governor sought authority to fill these vacancies before the legislature met. The Attorney-General, whose opinion was requested, stated that the Governor in the event of vacancies in this legislative agency possessed statutory authority to fill such vacancies. Accordingly on the first day of his administration the Governor appointed nine new legislative members to the council and summoned it to meet two days later to plan a legislative program for the 1940 general assembly. From that time until the Christmas holidays of 1939 the council was in almost continuous session. It appointed a research director and designated him as a fact finder, not as a legislative adviser. In addition, the Governor outlined at the first meeting of the council an eight-point program, as follows:

(1) An appropriation bill holding state operating expenses within present income; (2) A new chain store tax law to replace one previously adjudged invalid; (3) An amendment to the old-age assistance act to make possible payments of the maximum of \$30 per

month and to remove the state lien on pensioners' property; (4) The re-enactment of the teacher retirement law, with provision for funds; (5) Study of further rehabilitation of penal and eleemosynary institutions; (6) Removal of the state tax on gasoline used by farm machinery; (7) Creation of a farm tenancy commission; (8) Creation of a farm marketing division in the State Department of Agriculture.

Much of the council's time since its reorganization until the convening of the legislature, January 3, 1940, was concerned with the state budget. Kentucky operates under an executive budget but the new Governor wanted the council to examine every budget item before proposals were made to the legislature. Department heads were asked to appear before the council and defend their budget requests.

It is significant that the council was called upon by the Governor to examine his budget prior to the introduction of the budget bill in the legislature. Thus the existence of the council has meant a modification of the executive budget and probably guarantees less friction and delay in legislative approval of the budget.

Other items on the Governor's program were considered by the council and the research division was authorized to proceed with a study of these items and was requested to make a report to the council early in January.

Inasmuch as the membership of a legislative council is likely to be unstable due to the failure of certain of its members to be re-elected to the legislature, greater continuity of policy could possibly be guaranteed by the establishment of a larger council. Kentucky's council consists of eight members of the lower house, eight members of the upper house, and five administrative officers. With the rather large

turnover in legislative membership it is natural that many of the legislative members will not be returned to the council. A larger membership would mean the possibility of fewer vacancies on the council at the beginning of each regular legislative term.

With a more stable membership on the council the development of a legislative program might be carried through the entire year, and many of the problems of the state which demand long-term study could be presented to the legislature with certain suggestions for their solution. Otherwise the legislative program is of necessity a short-range program. In spite of this shortcoming, however, the Legislative Council is proving to be an effective agency in the legislative processes of the state.

J. W. MANNING

Bureau of Government Research
University of Kentucky

Knoxville Returns to City Manager Government

On January 1, 1940, after two years under a strong mayor form of government, the city of Knoxville, Tennessee, returned to city manager government. Knoxville had operated under a manager charter from 1923 until 1937, when the legislature by special act abolished it and entrusted the powers, duties, and functions formerly exercised by the city manager to a popularly elected mayor.¹ This act was introduced without the previous knowledge of the citizens of Knoxville and was passed upon the recommendation of the local representatives in the legislature, despite local protest in the form of a petition signed by over four thousand residents, without referring it to the local electorate.

The recent mayor was a former city manager of Knoxville, and was elected upon a pledge to seek restoration of city

manager government at the next regular session of the state legislature.² A majority of the local representatives in the state legislature were elected on a similar pledge. As a result, one of the first special acts passed by the 1939 General Assembly was one re-establishing manager government in Knoxville.³

This act provides that the city manager "shall be chosen solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications, and need not when appointed be a resident of the city or the state." The ex-mayor and former manager has been designated as the new city manager.

H. M. SATTERFIELD

Tennessee Valley Authority

A State Manager in California?

A study looking to a thorough reorganization of the state government in California is contemplated by the State Planning Board according to State Finance Director John R. Richards, in an interview reported in the *Sacramento Union*. He suggested the possibility that recommendations for a state manager might result in view of the success of the manager plan in many cities. He did not go into the relationship which the legislature might have to the manager, but indicated that a new constitution would be in order.

Council-Manager Plan News

In Port Huron, Michigan, (population 31,161) the Junior Chamber of Commerce has conducted a "project referendum" among representatives of all types of business and industry. One of the most needed projects was voted to be the promotion of the city manager plan for that city. Port Huron voters recently chose a committee to study possible charter changes.

Petitions have been circulated in Traverse City, Michigan, calling upon the city commission to present the question

²See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1938, p. 46.

³Private Acts of Tennessee, 1939, chap. 80.

¹Private Acts of Tennessee, 1937, chap. 623.

of charter revision to the electorate again. A city manager charter for that city had been drafted as the result of a large majority vote in 1937 approving the creation of a charter commission, but the new charter was defeated in June 1939. A revival of interest has recently occurred.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Niles, Michigan**, is showing interest in the manager plan for that city.

Encouraged by the success of the council-manager movement in the neighboring city of Yonkers, support for the manager plan has become evident in **White Plains**, county seat of Westchester County, New York. A. V. Brisson, former Democratic city chairman, who directed the campaign for proportional representation in White Plains in 1939, which was unsuccessful, is pointing out the advantages of a city manager and has urged the appointment of a committee to study the manager plan with P. R., by the Battle Hill Taxpayers Association in that city. This has been done.

In **Quincy, Massachusetts**, the Plan E form of government, which was defeated last fall, will be made an issue again by the Taxpayers Association which sponsored last year's movement for this form of manager government and P. R.

The manager form of government was recommended for **Hammonton, New Jersey**, by Mayor George Eckhardt in his farewell address to the town council on December 28.

The **Indiana City Manager Study Commission**, appointed last year by Governor Townsend, has been unofficially advised by the Attorney-General's office that it would probably be better to seek a constitutional amendment authorizing the manager plan than to attempt it by statute alone. The 1921 city manager law was declared unconstitutional on the ground that it did not have uniform application throughout the state, and the opinion was expressed that other constitutional objections might be found.

Study of the manager plan will be continued by the Taxpayers' Defense League of **San Antonio, Texas**.

The city council of **Silverton, Oregon**, has authorized Mayor Zetta Schador to appoint a citizens' committee to investigate the feasibility of city manager government, and she has announced the names of nine men for the committee. The Silverton Community Planning Council is advocating a special election on the manager plan.

In **Coronado, California**, a board of freeholders is to be elected in April. City Manager M. W. Reed states that there is no intention to abandon the manager plan, but merely to make it up to date.

The **Richmond, Virginia**, *Times Dispatch* of January 13, in denouncing the failure of the mayor and the Board of Aldermen to permit a public referendum on the question of a single-chamber council to replace the present two chambers, makes a strong plea for a city manager as well as a unicameral council. After pointing out the spread of the manager plan, especially in Virginia, it states, "Richmond has afforded classic examples in recent years of the sort of sloppy budgeting, cockeyed personnel procedure, inefficiency, and extravagance which seldom occur in municipalities with a city manager and a one-chamber council."

The Chamber of Commerce of **McCook, Nebraska**, has formed a committee to lead a campaign for the manager plan in that city.

The **Chicago City Manager Committee** and its young people's groups are planning a large dance, the proceeds of which will be devoted to furthering the manager cause.

The Citizens Good Government Association of **Waterbury, Connecticut**, plans to continue its campaign for manager government and will probably present a manager charter to next year's legislature.

Saugus and Worcester, Massachusetts, are both showing interest in Plan

E—the manager plan with proportional representation.

The Greenwood, Mississippi, *Commonwealth* has recently announced "adoption of city manager plan of city government and passage of legislation permitting such form of government" as part of its platform for Greenwood.

Officers of the Peoples League for Efficient Government of Atlantic City, New Jersey, have filed petitions asking for a vote on the manager plan. The petitions bore 7,358 names, nearly double the number required by law. A special election on the question has been set for February 20.

Newark, New Jersey, will vote on adoption of the Manager Plan on February 20.

Lincoln, Maine, voters adopted a town-manager charter on January 25.

Among other municipalities interested in the plan are Tacoma, Washington; Newport Beach and Balboa, California; Arlington, Ohio; Emaus, Pennsylvania; Montpelier, Vermont; Topeka, Kansas; and Oneida County, New York.

California Cities Cooperate for Sewage Disposal

Seven cities on the east side of the San Francisco Bay—Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, Richmond, Albany, Emeryville, and Piedmont—with a combined population of approximately half a million, have authorized a regional sewage disposal survey, and have budgeted a combined total of approximately \$57,000 for that purpose, according to *Western City*. The official representatives of the seven cities have drafted the framework for the survey, established the city of Berkeley as a depository for the joint funds, and received recommendations from the city engineers of the cities involved for the appointment of the engineering consulting board.

The executive committee for the seven cities, consisting of the managers of the four manager cities—Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, and Richmond—and a mayor or

other single representative of the three other municipalities, will make arrangements with the consulting engineers and organize a staff to carry on the work.

Police and Fire Appointments by Manager Restricted in Lexington, Kentucky

Under the terms of an ordinance passed December 7, 1939, by the Board of Commissioners of Lexington, Kentucky, the power of appointing assistant chiefs and other executive officers of the fire and police departments, with the exception of the chiefs, is taken from the city manager.

Under the new law a vacancy in the position of first assistant police chief will be filled automatically by the promotion of the second assistant chief. The second assistant chief's position will be filled by competitive civil service examination. Those eligible for this examination will be the captains and lieutenants on the force. A vacancy in the position of captain will be filled by competitive examination open only to lieutenants and the superintendent of identification. Only sergeants will be eligible to take the examination to fill the position of lieutenant or superintendent of identification. Grade A patrolmen with five years' experience will be eligible to step into a sergeant's place through civil service tests.

The ordinance also provides the same automatic method for filling vacancies in the fire department.

Although the law takes from the manager considerable appointive power, it should not be regarded as an effort to curtail the activities of the manager. On the other hand, it is looked upon as a means to relieve him of the responsibility and pressure by individuals and groups when an executive position becomes vacant in either of these departments and to put promotions in the departments on a merit and seniority basis.

J. W. MANNING

Bureau of Government Research
University of Kentucky

Regional Meetings of Municipal Officials Successful in New York State

The series of twelve regional meetings held during the latter part of 1939 by the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials demonstrated the popularity and value of these training schools for elective and other officials. The total number of officials attending increased 9 per cent over that of 1938 and the number of municipalities represented increased 8 per cent. At each of the meetings there was reported to be positive evidence of a keener interest by all officials in municipal government and a greater desire to solve intricate problems. A more helpful spirit was evidenced in every section of the state.

A training school for assessors of cities and villages will be held in the State Office Building at Albany on February 14, 15, and 16.

New York Housing Projects Financed by State and City

The first public housing projects in the United States financed wholly by local and state governments, according to the National Association of Housing Officials, will be in New York City.

Construction of Vladeck City Houses, a 240-family development, is under way, financed entirely by local bond issues allowed under 1939 legislation.

The state-financed project, a twenty-two-to twenty-four-million-dollar development, is to be built by the City Housing Authority with state aid, and will involve the first use of state funds for local public housing in the country. This project, according to present plans, will house nearly four thousand families in the city's navy yard area, and will be ready for occupancy by the spring of 1941.

Legislative Sessions Consider Social Welfare

Seven state legislatures convened in

regular session in January: Kentucky, Mississippi, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Virginia, according to a report of the Council of State Governments. The legislature of Louisiana, the only other state with a regular session in 1940, will meet in May.

Changes in unemployment compensation and other social welfare laws and provisions for labor and education are important measures to receive attention.

The year may also see a number of special sessions in view of the changes made by Congress granting expansion of social security aid to the states. These amendments, expanding federal aid to dependent children, for old-age assistance and the needy blind, were approved after many of the forty-four regular sessions of 1939 had adjourned.

A proposal to establish a State Labor Department is reported from Mississippi, while in South Carolina consolidation of the Labor Department with the Industrial Commission and the Unemployment Compensation Commission is under consideration. Additional aid for local education is sought in Virginia, New York, and Mississippi. Election laws may be substantially revised in Rhode Island, Virginia, and New Jersey. Civil service systems for state employees are possibilities in South Carolina and Virginia. Bills of several kinds designed to facilitate interstate relations are planned in New Jersey. Virginia will give consideration to many aspects of its penal system, including the administration of probation and parole, the abolition of the office of constable, and the fee system of compensating sheriffs and city sergeants.

Research Developments in City and Regional Planning

Reports to the American Society of Planning Officials indicate that the development of research was one of the major accomplishments in planning during 1939.

The variety and scope of special investigations by state planning agencies of the problems of their areas are illustrated by the following:

New Hampshire's State Planning Board and Development Commission studied industrial opportunities in the state. Massachusetts surveyed land use in three hundred towns and rural districts, and made an extensive study of water resources and recreation possibilities. The Virginia, Nebraska, and Washington planning agencies made special education surveys. California and Mississippi State Planning Boards investigated housing conditions. Fourteen states studied the economic aspects of industry and agriculture, and fifteen studied governmental finance and taxes.

Although research studies for local planning showed a wide range during the year, land-use and real property surveys were most frequent, according to the reports. Among cities making land-use studies were Chicago, Illinois; Concord, New Hampshire; and Des Moines, Iowa.

With the aid of the Work Projects Administration, more than 1200 research jobs—surveys, compilations, maps, and analyses—were done by planning agencies for cities, counties, and state and federal departments. A number of city plan commissions undertook traffic and transportation surveys. State and regional planning agencies found helpful the highway planning surveys completed for more than forty states in 1939 under joint auspices of the Federal Public Roads Administration and the various state highway departments.

The Society noted as important to local and state planning the statutory establishment, in the executive office of the President, of the federal planning agency—the National Resources Planning Board—in 1939, with the functions of collecting

for the President information on the use and development of national resources, advising him on measures for improving economic conditions, preparing plans for federal public works, and acting as a clearing house for planning on the various levels of government.

Three Federal Coordinating Agencies Denied Funds

Appropriations for the National Resources Planning Board, the Council of Personnel Administration, and the Office of Government Reports were eliminated by the House of Representatives from the independent offices supply bill, passed January 18. President Roosevelt has pointed out that the immediate saving involved, \$2,000,000, is small compared to the nation-wide benefits of the work of these agencies, and the future savings that will result.

Publication of Political Science Material Encouraged

The American Council on Public Affairs (1721 Eye Street, Washington, D. C.) in pursuance of its policy "to promote the spread of authoritative facts and significant opinions concerning contemporary social and economic problems," is now concentrating its efforts upon the sponsorship, publication, promotion, and distribution of scholarly books, studies, and papers, particularly in the fields of political and social science. In its choice of publications, the council is concerned with authoritative-ness, significance, responsibility of the author, and timeliness. Publicity for its publications will be sought through organizational coöperation, the issuance of press releases to newspapers and journals, the wide distribution of annotated lists and attractive circulars, and the arrangement of pertinent broadcasts and lectures.

North Dakota County to Vote on Disorganization

Henrico County Loses Territory to Richmond

Edited by

ELWYN A. MAUCK

Under the provisions of the law (chapter 122) passed by the 1939 legislature,¹ the voters of Billings County, North Dakota, have filed a petition calling for a vote on the question of disorganization of the government. If the proposal is approved at the primary election next June, the disorganized territory will become part of one of the neighboring counties.

Billings County was organized in 1883, six years before North Dakota became a state. It now comprises 1,156 square miles in the heart of the Badlands. Only 45 per cent or less of this area is producing tax revenue at the present time, the remainder being publicly owned or subject to foreclosure because of tax delinquency. Thirty-eight per cent of the land is owned by the federal government and 23 per cent of the total has been acquired by the federal government in its submarginal land program.

The population of the county has been decreasing, and it is now estimated at 2,500 persons, 72 per cent of whom are receiving some kind of public assistance.

The petition filed with the Board of Commissioners carried 325 signatures of county voters, which was more than the 20 per cent required by law. Also as provided by law, state examiners were sent immediately into the county to make a complete audit. If disorganization is approved, the Board of Commissioners of a neighboring county may proceed to annex

the territory of the disorganized county, provided action to the same end is taken by the Board of Commissioners of Billings County. In case of inaction on the part of the counties involved, the annexation would be proclaimed by the Governor to become effective January 1, 1941.

Richmond Wins Annexation Suit Against Henrico County

A two-to-one decision, handed down by a Virginia annexation court on January 21, gives Richmond the right to annex eight or nine square miles of Henrico County territory together with some 15,000 of its citizens. Under the city-county separation plan, unique to the state of Virginia, this means a complete loss by the county of such territory and its inhabitants.

Although concurring in the decision favorable to Richmond, Judge A. D. Barksdale characterized the city's present government as an "outmoded, fossilized, bicameral form of city government." According to an editorial in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, "The 15,000 new citizens who will be added to Richmond . . . are among the most zealous advocates of good government to be found anywhere in the state, for they were largely responsible for the adoption and retention of the county manager form in Henrico. As Richmond citizens they can be expected to work for a more up-to-date form of municipal administration."

The Board of Supervisors of Henrico County may appeal the decision to the Virginia State Court of Appeals.

Civil Service and Pension Laws for Wisconsin Counties Endangered

A recent ruling of the Attorney-General in Wisconsin apparently has seriously impaired the effectiveness of two measures enacted by the 1939 Wisconsin legislature with respect to county government. This opinion was rendered in construing the

¹See "County-Disorganization for North Dakota," by Kenneth Wernimont, *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, November 1939.

effect of chapter 263 of the 1939 laws of Wisconsin which authorizes any county government to proceed by initiative and referendum to adopt a system of civil service applicable to all county personnel. This would also have empowered any county by initiative and referendum to establish a system of pensions for county employees.

The Attorney-General ruled that the Wisconsin Supreme Court, in the case of *Meade v. Dane County*, 115 Wisconsin 632, had definitely held that the state constitution did not make any provision for a delegation of legislative power to the electors of a county, and since there had been no change in the state constitution in this respect since this decision had been rendered, the attempt to enable the voters of a county to adopt civil service or a system of pensions was an unconstitutional delegation of power.

The decision may also have the effect of destroying the effectiveness of the proposed constitutional amendment relating to the uniformity of county government which was passed in the 1939 session of the Wisconsin legislature and which must be passed again in identical form by the 1941 legislature and then submitted to a statewide referendum before becoming effective. The purpose of this amendment is to eliminate from the state constitution the provision requiring that there be but one form of county government. That provision resulted several years ago in the invalidation by the State Supreme Court of the optional commission form of county government in force in several counties. Beside eliminating this provision there would be added to the constitution the words: "The legislature shall classify counties and provide suitable systems of county government for each class. Counties may select a suitable system of county government from the systems so provided by the legislature."

The result of the Attorney-General's ruling discussed above is that if this

amendment eventually does become a part of the state constitution it can be used only by action of the respective county boards; apparently it will not be possible under the amendment to give the voters of a county the right of adopting one of the forms of county government which might be made optional by action of the legislature.

FREDERICK N. MACMILLAN
League of Wisconsin Municipalities

Planning in Pennsylvania Counties Moves Slowly

At the present time three counties have taken advantage of the county planning and zoning act passed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1937. Of the three counties of Allegheny, Monroe, and Bradford, the last named is probably most active in matters of planning and zoning. Its planning commission has conducted a number of surveys and studies of land use, recreation, reforestation of submarginal land, and roadside signs and billboards.

New York City Minority Party Continues Struggle for County Reform

The minority leader in the New York City Council has renewed the fight for county government reform by reintroducing, with slight modifications, the set of bills on which the council failed to act when introduced last year. The proposed reforms are along the lines advocated by Mayor La Guardia, calling for the abolition of the offices of five county sheriffs and four county registers. The functions of these offices would be transferred to the Department of Correction which would contain the new offices of city sheriff and city register, both to be filled by the mayor under civil service rules. The offices of commissioner of records in New York and Kings Counties would be abolished and their functions assigned to the clerks of the respective counties. The

measures would take effect only if approved by the people at the next general election.

According to the sponsor of the bills, they will (1) implement the county home rule amendment to the constitution adopted in 1935 which called for abolition of county offices; (2) eliminate waste, duplication, and inefficiency at a saving of more than \$500,000; (3) substitute employees appointed on the basis of fitness and merit for those now selected on a political basis; (4) preserve the effectiveness of the people's vote by removing from the ballot officers whose functions are purely ministerial; and (5) relieve the city of the heavy burden of many mandatory positions and salaries vesting control of such salaries in the city's appropriating agency, the Board of Estimate.

Dutchess County, New York, Interested in Manager Plan

Leading citizens of Dutchess County, New York, in analyzing the financial ills of their local government, have suggested that the solution might be found in the adoption of the county manager plan. They are encouraged to seek reforms in county government as a result of successful reforms in the contiguous county of Westchester. The movement has the support of numerous private individuals and taxpayers' associations in the county.

Kentucky May Consolidate County Offices

A bill has been introduced once more in the Kentucky general assembly to consolidate the offices of sheriff and jailer. The vicissitudes of politics have given this proposal a particularly hectic life. The law was passed originally in the 1934 regular session, but in the enrolled bill the enacting clause had been omitted. The law was repassed in the 1934 special session to become effective January 1, 1938. It was repealed, however, at the fourth special session of the 1936 legislature.

The Open Door at City Hall

Active Group in New York City

Edited by

ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

City governments the country over are bidding for customers in "know your government" campaigns.

There's nothing formal about the movement. It springs from the evident need in most cities to inform voters on the processes at city hall.

In Berkeley, California, Mayor Frank Gaines is inviting representative citizens to sit in on City Council meetings as "stockholders" in the municipal corporation. A list of 240 names representing all sections and varied interests in the city has been prepared. Ten names will be chosen to attend each meeting of the council for twenty-four weeks.

The Mayor's invitation reads:

"As a fellow-stockholder in the business of Berkeley, I invite you to be the guest of your Board of Directors. The purpose is to afford opportunity to obtain first-hand knowledge of the way your government operates."

In Montebello, California, reports the International City Managers' Association, a recent municipal open house drew 3,000 of the 7,500 population. Citizens saw, among other exhibits, the new two-way police radio and the fire engine in action. They received a twelve-page pamphlet which told them where the money came from to operate the city and how it was spent in 1939.

The legislative committee of the Parent-Teacher Association Council, New Rochelle, New York, is sponsoring a series of informal "town hall" meetings. In the first meeting on school and city budgets there were no set speeches, most of the time being given to questioning city offi-

cials. Inaugurating the series of meetings the chairman pointed out that so much emphasis had been placed in recent years on national and international affairs that there is a great lack of knowledge concerning state and local functions and officials.

Public libraries in several communities are doing their part. From Des Moines, Iowa; Gary, Indiana; and Hunterdon County, New Jersey, libraries report sponsorship of forums and special book displays on government.

In Chicago last year, the Board of Education, with the assistance of the Work Projects Administration, conducted an extended series of "know your government" tours which covered thirty-six municipal departments. The tours were free, and were intended to encourage the study of modern American government.

Cleveland, Ohio, heard Mayor Harold H. Burton and seven city department heads in a series of lectures on problems of municipal administration, as reported in the January, 1940, issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Lectures were open to the public without charge and reading lists were provided at each meeting for those interested in further study.

Reports from all sections indicate that forum, town hall, and discussion groups throughout the United States will come in for their share of local government discussion as a part of the municipal renaissance that is sweeping the country.

Citizen Action in New York City

The Citizens Union of the City of New York describes itself, on its letterhead and publications, as "a union of citizens, without regard to party, for the purpose of securing the honest and efficient government of the city of New York." Its work, the infinite variety of which often surprises even some of its five thousand loyal contributors, is accomplished by a small staff working on authorizations of a few active volunteer committees.

The Union's Committee on State Legislation, which has just started its thirty-sixth year (the Union itself was established in 1897), is probably the only volunteer committee which has a waiting list for membership. During the legislative session it meets every week for a long evening to pass on all important bills affecting city residents. The secretary goes to Albany each week to represent the committee. Weekly statements on bills are sent to newspapers, to legislative leaders, and to the many legislators who request them.

During the long regular session of 1939 the committee passed on 1,171 bills—more than ever before. The Union took a prominent part in preparing and passing the new public housing law, the complete revision of the city home rule law, and important election reforms. Each year at the close of the session the Union issues a comprehensive report covering its actions on measures, discussing the legislature's accomplishments, and summarizing the individual records of all New York City and suburban legislators.

The organization has a legislative program for 1940 covering sixteen major topics and proposing twenty-seven improvements either in the state constitution or in state statutes. Most important of these is the passage of legislation which will require or at least permit municipalities to put their unsound pension systems in order before July 1, 1940, when, under a constitutional amendment adopted in 1938, membership in a state or municipal pension or retirement system becomes "a contractual relationship, the benefits of which shall not be diminished or impaired."

Another important proposal is a carefully safeguarded constitutional amendment to permit amendments to be made by petition and popular vote in addition to present methods. Other proposals include changes in the judiciary to improve the calibre of judges and changes in the election law.

For some of these proposals the Union is drafting its own bills; for others it will support bills already introduced.

Action on Local Matters

The Citizens Union covers the New York City Council and the Board of Estimate actions on council bills in much the same way that it covers the state legislature. Its assistant secretary attends all meetings of these bodies and edits a *City Council Record* service, supported by subscriptions, which reports all actions on proposed local laws as soon as they are taken.

Shortly before the second council election under proportional representation the Citizens Union published a summary of the council's first two-year term of service. It was widely used during the campaign for the second P. R. election of the council. This pamphlet, as well as the report on state legislation, was sent to all members.

The Citizens Union helped to make county reorganization one of the foremost issues in the council election of 1939 and to elect a strong minority of councilmen pledged to its support; but hundreds of thousands of independent voters mistakenly regarded this as "just an off-year election" and let the opportunity to elect a majority pledged to county reorganization go by default.

This year will see a presidential election, when nearly all such voters will go to the polls. Such a year is the best time to get a full expression of the people's wishes and for that reason the best time to put through a constructive reform. If the new city council refuses to put a constructive county reorganization program on the ballot for next fall, the Citizens Union is prepared to take a leading part in seeing that it gets on by petition.

The Union has taken the lead in attempting to stop the granting of several undeserved or excessive pensions to former city employees. In several cases it was

successful and will continue to watch for any similar attempts to waste public funds.

Advice to Voters

Another active volunteer committee which makes possible one of the Union's most important annual accomplishments is the Committee on Local Candidates, which meets only two or three times every fall, but whose members spend a great deal of time interviewing candidates and investigating their records. The Union keeps a complete "Who's Who" file of every person who has run for office in the city in the last twenty years or more. As a result of the committee's work the *Voters Directory*, which in 1939 covered more than two hundred candidates (in 1937, a mayoralty year, there were 450 in the directory, exclusive of delegates to the Constitutional Convention), was distributed to approximately 100,000 persons throughout the city.

Special Issues

In addition to regular committees the Citizens Union has just started a panel of volunteer experts in various fields, to be called on to consider such topics as a Brooklyn-Manhattan tunnel, conditions in various city departments, zoning, new park plans, budgets, etc. Before any committee project is started it must be approved by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee, which meets once a week during most of the year, passes on matters of policy. Many of its members are also on other committees or, at least, on the panel for consideration of special issues.

This committee presented charges to Governor Lehman which were instrumental in leading to the Governor's recommendation to the Senate that County Judge George W. Martin of Brooklyn be removed. The Senate refused to do this, although the evidence against Judge Martin appeared sufficient to warrant his removal, but the Senate's refusal and all the facts connected with it have given a

needed stimulus to the drive for better methods of removing judges and upholding judicial standards.

A glance at this committee's minutes and at the Union's frequent newspaper releases and publications shows many more accomplishments and plans which it is impossible to cover in so small a space.

ELEANOR C. TANZER, Assistant Secretary
Citizens Union of the City of New York

It Can Happen Anywhere

A study of the voting behavior of the citizens of a state capital, Ann Arbor, Michigan—*Voting Behavior: A Case Study*, by James K. Pollock—brings to light some interesting facts published by *The New York State Municipal Bulletin*:

"Out of a population of 23,000, 35.7 per cent are not qualified to vote. Of the 15,000 qualified voters 11.7 per cent did not register during an eight-year period. Of the qualified voters only 29.3 per cent on an average actually went to polls to vote.

"Of the 23,000 people in Ann Arbor, only about 3,800 voters run the city and make its political decisions.

"Only one out of four female registered voters takes the trouble to vote.

"The voting frequency is lowest in the age group between twenty-one and thirty years. The highest frequency is between the ages of fifty-one and seventy."

Chicago Citizens Volunteer Services

Citizen participation in Chicago's government took a new twist recently when volunteers chosen by the Citizens Schools Committee agreed to mark the examination papers of seven thousand candidates for truant officer jobs.

The Citizens Schools Committee, reports its publication *Chicago Schools*, agreed in advance with the city Civil Service Commission that a grading board of ten was to be picked from a list of volunteers submitted by the committee.

The commission went one step further and invited the representatives of the Schools Committee to help prepare the examination questions. The examination that resulted was designed to ascertain background and attitudes rather than experience as temporary truant officers (although credit was recognized for such experience).

State Aid for Alabama Cities

Citizen Group Suggests Fiscal Changes for Louisville

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

The recent regular session of the legislature was of particular importance to Alabama cities in that they were successful in obtaining an increased portion of state-collected locally-shared taxes which it is estimated will amount to at least \$500,000. The importance of this source of revenue is indicated from a recent study which shows that approximately 8 per cent of municipal revenue comes from state-collected taxes.

In two instances the cities were given increased proportions of state-collected taxes. The income from motor vehicle licenses is now apportioned 70 per cent to the state and 30 per cent to the municipality if the license is purchased by a city resident. Formerly the city's share was 20 per cent. One-third of the amount received by the municipality from this source must be spent for street construction and maintenance.

The Alabama beverage control act formerly provided that 20 per cent of the net profits of each state liquor store be paid to the municipality in which such store is located. Under the act as amended, provision is made for an additional payment to all cities of \$200,000—if the total net profits exceed \$2,000,000 by that

sum—which is to be apportioned on the basis of the ratio of the population of the city to the total municipal (incorporated) population.

Two additional new sources of revenue are the state excise tax on financial institutions and the gasoline tax. The excise tax is levied by the state as a privilege tax, the proceeds being distributed one-half to the city in which the financial institution is located, one-fourth to the county, and one-fourth to the state. Formerly, only the three largest cities secured revenue from this source. From the proceeds of the state gasoline tax, a monthly deduction of \$10,420 is to be paid semi-annually to all incorporated cities. The basis of apportionment is the same as that used to distribute the revenues of the state liquor system, and the proceeds may be used only for street maintenance and construction.

WELDON COOPER

University of Alabama

Louisville Fiscal Changes Urged

In 1938 the mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, appointed a special committee of eight prominent local business and professional men to devise ways and means of relieving the city's recurring sinking fund deficit of approximately \$618,750.

The city's bonded indebtedness, as of June 30, 1939, was \$42,301,800. Total sinking fund requirements for 1939 were \$2,386,614. Total sinking fund revenues, derived from a nineteen-cent general property tax, certain licenses, and a dividend paid to the city by the Louisville Water Company, the stock of which is owned by the sinking fund of the municipality, will amount to approximately \$1,767,865, leaving an indicated deficit.

The report of the committee recently submitted advised against increasing taxation of real estate and tangible personal property, inasmuch as these sources of revenue are at present producing 91.17 per cent of the city's total income, and recommended that the present nineteen-

cent sinking fund levy on property be reduced or eliminated as early as possible. The committee also objected to the city's present license tax ordinances and to the manner in which merchants' inventories have been assessed for taxation.

The committee recommends that sinking fund revenues be derived from:

A. *Licenses*: It is recommended that present licenses dealing with insurance, trucks, taxicabs, gasoline, and the sale of beer and liquor, which are providing \$350,000 annually, be retained; all other existing licenses be eliminated and replaced by more equitable licenses for service establishments, professions, retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers, according to schedules set forth in the report, to produce \$475,000 annually; a special license at a higher rate be imposed upon transient merchants and house-to-house canvassers, to produce \$10,000 yearly; an automobile license tax of \$5.00 be assessed to raise an estimated \$300,000 annually. These license measures will result in an estimated net increase for sinking fund purposes of \$553,000.

B. *Increased dividend from the Louisville Water Company*: The findings of the committee indicate that the water properties are worth at least \$20,000,000 in excess of the \$250,000 indebtedness outstanding against them. At present the sinking fund is receiving 2.5 per cent annually on this value. The committee believes the city's return should be at least 5 or 6 per cent, and it is recommended that this sum be anticipated in the budget.

The present low return to the city is attributed to excessive operating expenses and to an unbalanced rate schedule. It is suggested that the excessive operating costs of the water company during 1938 arise from the manner of selecting personnel, and that unnecessary capital expenditures improperly restrict dividends. In comparison with those prevailing in comparable cities rates are too low for over a third and too high for more than half of the consumers. A schedule to

adjust these inequities and to result also in an increase in net income of \$200,000 is recommended. The committee estimates that improved management can result in an annual reduction of \$150,000 in operating expenses, and it recommends a decrease of \$150,000 in the annual retirement reserve. The proposal of the committee is that the present management of the company be required to attain this result, or that the City Board of Water Works enter into a ten-year management contract with a private agency to operate the properties for a specified proportion of increase in net income over the 1938 figure, exclusive of savings through reduction in retirement charges and increases due to rate adjustments. A proposal for such a contract from a responsible concern is submitted.

C. Reduction of general sinking fund levy: If the total estimated license revenues and water company dividends are realized, these two sources alone will provide \$2,145,000 of the total required for the sinking fund. The amount needed if the committee's suggestions are accepted, may be reduced by \$125,000, which the sinking fund will receive this year in back tax collections. Therefore, the net amount required currently from the property levy will be only \$116,614, or four cents per \$100.

In a statement to the Board of Water Works concerning the report, the superintendent of the water company pointed out that the operating expenses of the company compare favorably on a unit cost basis with those of other water companies in similar cities, and advised that a curtailment of \$150,000 annually in operating costs and a reduction of \$150,000 in annual retirement reserves, as recommended, are impossible. In considering capital expenditures, which had appeared as unnecessary to the committee, the superintendent called attention to conditions arising from the rapid growth of the city, from the drought years, and from the Ohio Valley flood of 1937, which together had necessitated these

expenditures. The statement also notes that the company's operating statement for the first eight months of 1939 shows a decrease in expenses, retirement charges aside, of \$33,800.

The president of the Louisville Water Company also made a statement which amplified the contentions of the superintendent.

JAMES W. MARTIN

Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Two Rivers, Wisconsin, Debt Free by 1947

Two Rivers, Wisconsin—a city of 10,000 population—has recently announced the progress it has made in its eighteen-year plan to become debt free and begin operation on a pay-as-you-go basis by 1947.

Designed to eliminate bonded indebtedness, the program does not depend upon curtailment of capital improvements or an increase in the tax rate, according to a report to the International City Managers' Association. Started in 1929, the plan provides for annual payments of about \$65,500 for bonds and interest until 1947. Thereafter a similar amount of money can be used each year for construction of physical improvements without an increase in the tax rate.

In working out the program, city officials first listed the most important major improvements to be made. In no period of the city's history have so many public improvements been made as during the ten years the plan has been in operation; yet the tax rate has been reduced from \$30 to \$26.50. Since 1929 the city has built one bridge, two new schools, a sewage-disposal plant, and a fire station, and has rebuilt harbor facilities, seventy-one blocks of concrete streets, and ten miles of sidewalks.

The burden on the resources of the city resulting from the depression has been offset largely by federal funds. A large part of the sewer, paving, and sidewalk work

was done as work relief projects. The Public Works Administration aided financially in the repair of harbor facilities, and in the construction of the sewage-disposal plant and one of the schools.

In connection with the Two Rivers' plan, it has been pointed out that several cities are planning six-year programs in coöperation with the National Resources Planning Board in an effort to develop techniques and procedures and to show the practicability of such programs. Preparation includes making an inventory of desired projects, determining probable future revenues, and the scheduling of desired projects in order of priority for the next six years. The programs are based on estimated revenue, and may be revised annually in the light of future changes in needs, desirability, and funds. Six-year plans of this type have been developed in Winchester, Massachusetts; Nashville, Tennessee; Dallas, Texas; Sacramento, California; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Fargo, North Dakota; and Spokane, Washington.

Survey Shows Trend Toward Uniform Assessment Date

A trend among the states toward establishing January 1 as a uniform tax assessment date, partly in order to prevent tax evasion through the movement of property across state boundaries, is shown in a report prepared recently by the National Association of Assessing Officers. Of eighteen states which have January 1 dates, six—Arkansas, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Washington, North Carolina, and Maryland—joined the group within the last twelve years.

The most recent changes were made in 1939 by North Carolina, where the legislature moved the assessment date up from April 1, and by Maryland. Maryland's assessment date, which had varied considerably from county to county, was established definitely as January 1 except for two counties and the city of Baltimore, where it is in October.

The assessment date determines one or more of three things, the association said: (1) ownership on the assessment date determines who pays the tax on a piece of property; (2) the tax on a property is usually levied upon its value on the assessment date; (3) if the property is movable and tangible, its location on the assessment date often determines what tax districts may levy taxes on it.

One of the principal reasons for desiring uniform assessment dates is to prevent an owner from moving his property across a state line to keep it from being in either state on the assessment date.

A uniform, or even an exact, assessment date is not essential for real property since its location does not change, its value changes slowly, and delinquent taxes usually are collected by enforcement of a tax lien rather than by a suit against a person.

In addition to the states with January 1 assessment dates, two states—Idaho and Tennessee—have January dates, on the second Monday and the 10th respectively. April 1 is the assessment date in seven states—Colorado, Illinois, Maine, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, and Vermont. In Michigan there is some variation among home rule cities, but the second Monday in April is the usual date.

Assessment dates vary from month to month in the other states: February—Wyoming; March—California, Indiana, Kansas, Montana, and Oregon; May—Minnesota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; June—Missouri and Rhode Island; July—Kentucky and New York, with the exception of some cities; October—Alabama, Connecticut, and New Jersey. Ohio uses January 1 as the assessment date for personalty and the second Monday in April for realty.

Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, and Pennsylvania have no fixed dates that are uniform either throughout the state or for all important classes of property. In Pennsylvania, for example, the assessment date for the state personal property tax may be set by the revenue department be-

tween January 1 and 15; county personal property tax assessment dates vary somewhat but fall for the most part on December 31; and there is no provision for a real property tax assessment date.

U. S. Census Bureau Tabulates Election Results

For the second successive year the Division of State and Local Governments, Bureau of the Census, has tabulated and reported on proposals passed upon during the year by state and municipal voters. The reports show that only twelve of the forty-eight states submitted proposals to their respective electorates in 1939, as compared with thirty-six in 1938. Among the cities, 122 out of 322 of over 25,000 population reporting to the bureau submitted a total of 292 proposals.

The twelve states submitted a total of sixty-one statewide proposals, of which, however, thirty-three were submitted by one state, Georgia. Over three-fourths of the measures were approved, the voters accepting forty-three of the fifty constitutional amendments proposed, including all thirty-three of Georgia's which referred mostly to single specifically named localities. Of the eleven propositions not in the form of constitutional amendments, only four were approved. Six of the questions submitted concerned bond issues, five of which sought authorization for issues in specified amounts aggregating \$89,700,000. Three of the issues, amounting to \$66,450,000 or nearly three-fourths of the total, were defeated. Each of the defeated proposals was in the form of a constitutional amendment, while the two that were approved were not constitutional amendments.

Thirty-one of the state proposals related to specifically named localities, ten to organization, judiciary, and elections, seven each to taxes and miscellaneous governmental proposals, and six each to bond issues and regulatory proposals. The states voting were Alabama, California, Georgia, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi,

New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, and Rhode Island. The bond issues approved were \$21,000,000 for unemployment relief in New Jersey; \$2,250,000 for sinking fund requirements in Rhode Island; and a general authorization for refunding of highway certificates in Georgia. None of the tax proposals was adopted, although New Jersey and New York both adopted constitutional amendments to permit pari-mutuel betting at race tracks, measures which the sponsors expect to provide important revenues for state purposes. The two measures attracting most attention when submitted were the California and Ohio old-age pension proposals, both of which were decisively defeated.

Of the 322 cities of over 25,000 population from which the Bureau received replies at the date of preparation of its preliminary report, two hundred, or almost two-thirds, referred no city-wide proposals to the voters in 1939. Voters of twenty-three of the 122 cities holding elections were requested to express an opinion on four or more city questions, while seven cities (in the mountain or Pacific region) submitted five or more questions. In all, 292 measures were proposed, of which 163 were approved. About 40 per cent of the elections were held in November, but elections were held in every month of the year.

Some twenty-seven of the reporting cities submitted bond issues aggregating almost \$46,000,000 to their voters, but of these only \$11,000,000 or twenty-six out of fifty proposals, were approved. The larger cities, submitting the larger issues for approval, registered more disapprovals than acceptances, while cities under 250,000 population, submitting a total of only \$13,500,000, approved more bond issues than they disapproved. Including two bond proposals which would amend the charter, 112 charter amendments were submitted in forty-one cities. Fifty-four of these were approved, while fifty-eight were defeated. Proposals relating to taxation

were submitted in forty cities, with seventy individual measures under consideration. Of these, thirty-two were approved and thirty-eight defeated. Most of the tax measures were requests for authorization of special levies, and some were for levies to service bond issues being submitted at the same time. Measures bearing on tax administration included proposals to authorize installment payment of taxes, approved in Beaumont, Texas, and Kalamazoo, Michigan; a proposal to have the county collect taxes, approved in Santa Monica, California; changes in delinquent tax collection procedure, proposed and approved in Flint, Michigan; and a proposal to reduce back taxes prior to 1937 by 50 per cent, defeated in Superior, Wisconsin.

New P. R. Councils Make Good Start

Cincinnati and Toledo Choose Mayors P. R. League Meeting

Edited by

GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

Two days after the P.R.-elected 4-4-1 council of Cincinnati seemed headed for a prolonged deadlock over the election of its presiding officer and mayor, a universal thrill was provided by the representatives of the Charter group, supporters and sponsors of Cincinnati's city management-P.R. form of government, when they ended the deadlock by handing the mayoralty to the Republican Organization's candidate, James G. Stewart. The stalemate was the result of a prolonged refusal by Herbert S. Bigelow, lone independent of the nine men in council, to make an election between Stewart and Charles P. Taft, Charter nominee for the mayoralty.

Mr. Taft, acting with the knowledge and consent of his Charter associates, himself

broke the deadlock by casting the deciding vote for his opponent. Taft's action choked off propaganda emanating from anti-P.R. forces, which attempted to find in the deadlock "proof that P.R. enables one person to select their mayor for the people of Cincinnati."

Opined the *Cincinnati Post*: "We have a feeling that it will be a long time before another independent councilman in a 4-4-1 council tries to block the election of a mayor. . . . Mr. Bigelow has received a rather salutary lesson which should convince him that he is one member of council, entitled to all rights and privileges as a representative of one group of voters, but not the ring-master of Council."

Praise for the action of the Charter group was unanimous. Said the *Enquirer*: "It was a generous and statesmanlike decision, coming from all four Charter councilmen, and confirming the confidence which many citizens have had in the Charter movement. Mr. Taft and his colleagues rightly placed his own group's advantage in a secondary place, and gave first consideration to the orderly management of the city's affairs."

The *Times Star* editorialized: "The Charter movement and Charles P. Taft are especially to be congratulated; the one, because it could hardly have survived the election of one of its men through Bigelow's favor, the other, because he put the interests of his group and city above personal advantage."

The *Post* said: "[Mr. Taft's vote] was a symbolic vote, as we see it, to put into effect the proposed amendment to the city charter, which the Charter councilmen proposed last July for submission to the voters, but which was blocked by the votes of Republicans and Wiley Craig (Bigelow protege in the former council). That amendment, in brief, provided that in the event city council was unable to choose a mayor by January 15, the councilman with the highest first-choice vote, or the first one to be declared elected,

automatically became the presiding officer of council (mayor).

"Mr. Stewart, by virtue of receiving the highest first-choice vote last November, would have become the mayor had the amendment been in effect. The Charter members wisely decided not to wait until the January 15 date to act, since the deadlock appeared certain to last until that date."

Harry Drackett, president of the City Charter Committee, endorsed the action of the Charter councilmen in a congratulatory statement which follows:

"Now that the organization of council has been decided, the City Charter Committee congratulates Mr. Stewart on his election as mayor, Mr. Waldvogel¹ on his election as vice mayor, and Mr. Cash¹ on his election as chairman pro tem. We wish them well in the conduct of the city's business.

"The Charter councilmen have kept their promises made during the campaign and since the election that there would be no deal to obtain anyone's vote. They have also kept their promises not to permit an extended deadlock.

"They have presented their own candidate, Mr. Taft, but have rejected Mr. Bigelow's offer to auction off his vote. When it became apparent that Mr. Bigelow would insist upon his demands or deadlock council they have approved the election of Mr. Stewart who received the highest first-choice vote. Their action is entirely consistent with the procedure outlined by the amendment presented by the Charter councilmen last July. That amendment would have put an end to deadlocks for all time. Its passage was blocked by a majority consisting of the Republican councilmen and Mr. Bigelow's representative, Mr. Craig.

¹Mr. Waldvogel and Mr. Cash are Charter Democrats, elected by the votes of the four Charter councilmen and Mr. Bigelow after the mayoralty had been decided.—EDITOR.

"Personally and on behalf of the City Charter Committee I congratulate Mr. Cash, Mr. Taft, Mr. Waldvogel, and Mr. Wilson on their sound and consistent conduct. They have demonstrated that their desire for good government in Cincinnati comes before petty party politics or the ambition for office.

"We of the Charter Committee are reasonably satisfied under the circumstances with the strong representation which we have in council in its official acts which may be counted upon to continue Cincinnati's record for good government during the next two years."

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Toledo Council Begins Auspiciously

Toledo's third P.R.-elected council, which took office on January 1, is off to an auspicious start and, with a display of industry and economy-mindedness, already has established itself in the public mind as a "good" council.

In their first three weeks on the job, the nine councilmen—six of whom also served in the 1938-39 council—have completed negotiations on five electric light and power contracts with the Toledo Edison Company which brought a total reduction in rates of more than \$600,000 a year; have completed the detailed study of the 1940 budget in record time, and have attended to the routine business of the council.

Election of the mayor and presiding officer, with one strong candidate from the City Manager League-endorsed group and at least six other aspirants, provoked a spectacular contest which aroused almost as much public interest as the race for council seats. The four league-endorsed members agreed to support John Q. Carey, for four years vice mayor, chairman of council's public utilities committee, and a popular young attorney, who was the second man elected in the 1939 election, while at least

four of the "independents" were believed to be prepared to vote for Addison Q. Thacher, former mayor and two-term councilman, who campaigned in 1939 on an "anti-league" platform.

The deciding vote was held by Charles D. Hoover, who was endorsed by the League in 1937, but not in 1939. Before a packed council chamber on New Year's night—and with no one but himself knowing which way the contest would be decided—Mr. Hoover cast his vote for Mr. Carey and the League-endorsed councilman became, at thirty-four, the youngest mayor in Toledo's history.

A league-endorsed councilman nominated Mr. Hoover for vice mayor and again the ex-endorsee held the spotlight and cast the deciding vote against himself for an "independent" candidate, Ollie Czelusta.

After this spectacular campaign and dramatic finale, the citizens settled back, wondering if the new council would immediately get into a series of factional fights which would delay and obstruct action on the city's business. To the surprise of some and the gratification of most council observers, the new legislators plunged into both routine and special problems with an apparent desire to get things done.

Reduction of the light and power rates is only partially to be credited to the new council, of course, because the negotiations, carried on over the last six months, had been brought nearly to the point of agreement by the old council in its last session on December 31. The \$600,000 rate reduction is very plainly the result of the continued negotiations, since the Edison Company had been willing to grant less than half of that amount several months ago. The old council refused several increased offers and the Citizens Advisory Committee on Light and Power Rates urged the new council not to accept the offer which finally was agreed to, but the council felt the Edison Company had gone as far as it would go and was re-

luctant to resort to long and costly litigation.

Final agreement on the contracts, which cover domestic, commercial, street and public building, and Lake Erie Water Project rates, was hailed enthusiastically by Toledo newspapers, and the council and city administration, as well as the Edison Company, were highly praised.

The next achievement of the newly installed legislators was to complete a detailed study of the 1940 budget in the record-breaking time of four and a half days. Some important items, however, including the entire relief budget, were delayed for special consideration.

That the detailed study was finished in such short time and that the final figures were only \$512 different from the document as submitted by City Manager George N. Schoonmaker, brought praise for the council, the manager, Finance Director D. E. A. Cameron, who had charge of the preparation of the budget, and all department heads.

A factor which was not apparent to the public, but which perhaps was more important than the others, was commented on by some administration officials. The 1940 budget "had all the water squeezed out of it" before it ever got to council, as one official put it, and in this respect was similar to the budgets of the three preceding years. Whole credit for the greatly improved budgetary procedure of the city was given by this official and others to former City Manager John N. Edy, now doing important budget work for the federal government as executive assistant to the Administrator of the Public Works Agency.

While the new council is off to a good start, so far as efficiency, industry, and internal harmony are concerned, many rumors are afloat regarding what goes on "behind the scenes." The council has come in for criticism for having held four secret sessions in its first three weeks.

Reports which gained wide circulation

immediately after the November election about moves to abolish P. R. still are current. The City Manager League and other citizen organizations are sifting all the rumors about council, maintaining observers at all sessions, and keeping on the alert for any moves to amend the charter or otherwise interrupt the remarkable progress Toledo's government has made in the last four years.

RICHARD P. OVERMYER,
Executive Secretary

Toledo City Manager League

New York Minorities Cooperate

The New York City council organized on January 1 with the re-election of John Cashmore of Brooklyn, Democrat, as vice chairman and majority leader, and Genevieve B. Earle (Mrs. William P. Earle, Jr.) of Brooklyn, independent, as minority leader.

Mr. Cashmore was supported by the fourteen organization Democrats, and Mrs. Earle, who was the only woman member of the 1936 charter commission, received the votes of six of the seven opposition councilmen who were elected, thanks to P.R., as minority members in the Democratic sweep last fall. The five councilmen endorsed by the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee—one of the two Republicans, the two American Labor party members, and the two City Fusion independents—and also Alfred E. Smith, Jr., elected as an insurgent Democrat, voted for Mrs. Earle, while the second Republican member refrained from voting.

On the adoption of council rules, however, the seven opposition members all voted against the Democratic organization majority and there are indications that on many matters the seven will stand together.

Mayor LaGuardia addressed the council on current city problems and declarations of policy were made by spokesmen for the Democrats, Republicans, Laborites, and independents. The proceedings were broad-

cast to a large radio audience by the city station, WNYC.

The most serious issue before the new council was the reorganization of policemen's and firemen's pensions, which were proving an increasingly heavy drain on the city's resources. Reorganization had to be arranged before July 1, if at all, because of a provision freezing maximum contributions and minimum benefits on that date in the new constitution. Mayor LaGuardia submitted a plan agreed to by the men themselves which increases their present contributions but leaves them far short of those required for comparable benefits from other public employees. The council passed the Mayor's bills after holding extended hearings, which were very fairly conducted and which threw much light on this complicated subject.

Mrs. Earle has re-introduced her bills for the reorganization under the city government of the five county governments within the city. Since these governments are strongholds of Democratic party patronage, the bills are not expected to make much progress in the present council, but the able minority may be counted on to keep the issue alive.¹

The Annual P. R. Meeting

The Proportional Representation League, Inc., held its nineteenth meeting on November 16, 1939, at the Severn Hotel, Indianapolis. As in past years, the meeting was held in connection with the annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League.

Professor A. R. Hatton of Northwestern University, president of the League, presided.

Two important matters of business were transacted. The following trustees were unanimously re-elected: Richard S. Childs of New York City; Paul H. Douglas of Chicago; C. A. Dykstra of Madison, Wisconsin; A. R. Hatton of Evanston, Illinois;

¹See also page 131.

C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania; J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia. The president of the League was authorized to appoint a committee to study and recommend, in the light of experience in over fifty American P. R. public elections, standard up-to-date regulations for the conduct of such elections.

After the short business session the meeting was devoted to reports from the various communities where P. R. has recently been to the fore. Speakers and their topics were as follows: Walter J. Millard, the Philadelphia P.R.-manager campaign; Julian G. Hearne, Jr., the second P. R. election in Wheeling and the Waterbury campaign for a new P.R.-manager charter; Cyrus J. Fitton, the seventh P.R. election in Hamilton; Richard P. Overmyer, Toledo's third P.R. election; Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati's successful fight to retain P.R. and its eighth P.R. election; George H. Hallett, Jr., New York City's second P.R. election, the first election in Yonkers, and the campaigns for adoption of P.R. in New Rochelle, White Plains, Schenectady, and Onondaga County, New York; Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., why P.R. is essential; Arthur W. Bromage, P.R. in Ireland.

The first session of the conference was also devoted to proportional representation. At a luncheon held November 15, Dr. F. A. Hermans, of the University of Notre Dame, and Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the National Municipal and Proportional Representation Leagues, debated the merits of P.R.

E. S. P.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION GROUP ORGANIZES

(Continued from Page 117)

administrative character. That the opportunity for a considerable contribution exists in this time of rapidly changing and expanding government, none will deny. Already the enlistment of a large number

of those who have, during recent years, contributed generously to the advancement of public administration augurs well for the growth of the society.

Persons interested in applying for membership or receiving further information about the society should address Stuart H. Van Dyke, acting secretary-treasurer, at the society's temporary headquarters, Box 36, University Station, Syracuse, New York.

IRISHMEN LIKE P. R.

(Continued from Page 110)

sometime be abandoned that he has-tened to announce that no deviation would ever be made without a popular referendum. Further information on de Valera's attitude toward this system was contained in the announcement of his proposed plan for an all-Ireland parliament which might be used if the north and south should be united. This projected all-Ireland legislative body should be chosen on the basis of P. R., according to An Taoiseach.

The election held on June 17, 1938,¹¹ resulted in a clear victory for de Valera. With the voting taking place in accordance with P. R., de Valera nevertheless obtained 77 seats in a Dail of 138 members, an over-all majority of 16. He accumulated support from farmers, laborers, and wealthy conservatives and in widely separated constituencies. The election indicated de Valera had gained in popularity by his successful negotiations with England and that a stable majority could be attained under P. R.

¹¹See John H. Humphreys, "The Proportional Representation Elections in Ireland," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, August 1938.

Recent Books Reviewed

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Grants-in-Aid under the Public Works Administration. By J. Kerwin Williams. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1939. 292 pp. \$3.75.

If ever our federal system disintegrates entirely, historians will not be lacking who blame it upon the PWA, which carried the grant-in-aid technique so far that the federal government actually dealt directly with local governments and laid down rules and regulations for their guidance. Dr. Williams demonstrates in "Grants-in-Aid under the Public Works Administration" that he would not be among the decriers of this break with tradition. The federal grants, he found, improved local budgeting procedures, encouraged local governments to wriggle out of too confining debt limitations, but did not, however, foster over-expenditure and over-borrowing, as has often been charged.

In the main, Dr. Williams' book constitutes a dispassionate, detailed description of the nature of the federal administration of public works grants-in-aid and of the difficulties encountered. There is a profusion of remarkably interesting footnotes, for most of them are anecdotal proof of statements made in the text. Unquestionably, this work will have a lasting importance as a collection of facts on an important governmental experience.

M. R.

Training for Recreation. By Dorothy I. Cline. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. xiii, 130 pp.

Miss Cline's book deals with the history, and the lessons to be learned from it, of the valiant and quite successful attempt, in which she played an important part, to organize the leisure of those in the present depression (1929 through 1939 plus) whom we refer to in our slipshod speech as "unemployed." A more exact term would be, "in a state of incomelessness and enforced leisure."

The book tells in detail, sometimes with too many details but with shrewd comment, how the Recreation Division of the WPA came to exist, its internal confusion at first, and finally how, by the use of the democratic process in the democratic spirit (and upon this Miss Cline and certain colleagues insisted), it became a well devised means for achieving one of the "great values." Into both leaders and participants it built personality through that which in itself comes nearer than anything else to being both a means and an end—group recreation of the active type.

The competence of Miss Cline to write this book is unquestioned. One sentence in Chapter V, "Looking Forward," is: "Lack of imagination and responsiveness was one of the main reasons for the schism between purpose and action." That puts into one sentence the thesis of the best book Aldous Huxley has yet written. The chapter as a whole re-enforces the remark of Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman who wrote the Introduction, "By training and inclination Miss Cline is a person devoted to the improvement of American public service."

Every general public administrator and every citizen should read this book. The suggestions it contains will be more than useful during the time in which we are ignorant and willful enough to allow "unemployment" to exist. That we do exhibit some social conscience is demonstrated by such governmental agencies as the Recreation Division of the WPA. As this book reveals, we are building and maintaining the morale of some of those upon whom we visit unmerited punishment for our collective sin of economic ignorance and sloth in removing it.

W. J. M.

George W. Aldridge, Big Boss, Small City. By Clement G. Lanni. Rochester, N. Y., Rochester Alliance Press, 1939. 158 pp. \$1.50.

George Aldridge is one boss who has been forgotten by nearly every student of local government today; and yet, in his prime, he cut quite a figure. As Lanni says, he ruled the city of Rochester, New York, for two score years. After his death in 1922, George Eastman, of international fame, assumed control of the city's political fortunes and led the successful fight for the city manager plan. After Eastman's death—even a little earlier, when he began to lose interest in civic affairs—the good government movement languished. While Rochester has retained the manager form of government, leadership in the party organization is divided among men who do not have Aldridge's vision, and no one has risen in the "charter" group to take Eastman's place.

A full, unbiased, penetrating, and honest account of George Aldridge's role in Rochester municipal politics would be welcomed by political scientists, and it would certainly be helpful to citizens in other cities that are now boss-ridden. Unfortunately, this book is too skimpy, unclear, and evasive to be of service. A reader who knows the background can discern the author's desire to "tell all" in his hurried comments on the Eastman-Aldridge alliance (p. 119 *et passim*), on Aldridge's wealth (p. 119), on political assessments, and so forth. The pity of it is that Lanni, an ex-newspaper reporter and publisher, could tell a satisfactory tale of George Aldridge's career, if he would.

As a matter of fact, there has never appeared in print an adequate case history of an American political boss. Perhaps it would help if journalists and others familiar with the intimate lives of bosses were invited to write everything down and place it under bond to be opened after they die. The reviewer does not mean to disparage Mr. Lanni's work; as such things go, it isn't bad. But he has a story to tell that he hasn't told yet. Let us hope that it is written down while there is yet time.

R. V. P.

Education for Democracy. Proceedings of the Congress on Education for Democracy. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. 466 pp. \$2.50.

Since 1936 Columbia's Teachers College has sponsored a series of eight conferences on educational policies, and this volume is composed of the speeches and discussions resulting from the last such attempt to define democracy, to establish its place in today's world, and to determine the role of education in the continuing process. As at each previous conference an attempt was made to bring together representatives of all major and many minor fields of thought on these problems.

It is interesting to note the lack of any common understanding of democracy. To some of the contributors it is a spirit, a mode of life. To others it is a technique of government. Again, democracy is representative government. One man suggested that "a democracy needs a longer period of growth than a standardized society planned from above"; another, that we limit our conceptions of democracy to those subscribed to by the apologists for the Republican form of government; and a third, that "human development and progress must be judged by standards of humanity as a whole." There is no unanimity nor, according to some who see the difficulties of the democratic process, can there be unanimity until we have first determined the true content of the term and imparted this concept to those generations who must ultimately determine its fate.

How can we *educate for democracy* until we have determined the content of these two terms? This volume may well serve to re-emphasize the problems involved in such a program by presenting, as it does, without comment, these examples of present-day thinking.

While there is much in this book that will prove immensely stimulating to students and practitioners in the field of local government, it is disheartening to reflect

that we are as far away from practical rules for the guidance of teachers of democracy as we ever were.

JAMES KIRK EADS

The Administration of Old Age Assistance. By Robert T. Lansdale, Elizabeth Long, Agnes Leisy, and Byron T. Hipple. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1939. xiii, 345 pp. \$3.75.

This is one more in the valuable series of studies in administration which the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council has been putting out in the past few years. Both the professional reputation of the authors and the financial and social importance of the subject matter make this a must book in any serious library on government in this decade.

As Mr. Lansdale himself admits in his preface, the serious defect of books on subjects such as the administration of old-age assistance is their tendency to become out of date almost before they are published. Federally-aided assistance programs were just getting under way when twelve states were visited and studied by these authors. That was in 1936 and 1937. It is a triumph of this volume that the generalizations at which the authors were able to arrive bear unmistakably the ring of principles which will be applicable long after the specific circumstances which prompted them have been altered. This is a textbook and guidebook on the administration of old-age assistance which will probably be the definitive work for a long time to come.

M. R.

New York Election Law Manual with Forms. By Lewis Abrahams. New York, Edward Thompson and Company, 1939. xxi, 274 pp. \$5.00.

The *New York Election Law Manual with Forms* is a clear and concise survey of the New York State election laws as they are in effect at present. This work will be of special interest to attorneys and those politically active in New York

State. In a larger sense this book will be of interest to students of government and to civic-minded citizens everywhere in that it clarifies the position of the voter in regard to his rights and privileges in the electoral process.

The manual exhaustively covers the last four years' cases and citations as well as previous decisions and opinions significant in the development of the New York election law. The ample footnoting of the text should be of considerable aid in the preparation of cases by reducing the amount of research necessary. Mr. Abrahams has fortunately dodged the jungle of legal phraseology and has written in a simple, readable, and declarative form.

The material covered is grouped into the following chapters: suffrage, party committees and committeemen, petitions, candidates, ballots, judicial proceedings, board of elections, and proportional representation, and is built up in a logical progression from the basis of the law. Chapter subdivision and detailed indexing of both topics and citations make this book excellent as a reference source. The text is supplemented with legal forms required for litigation. Provision has been made for the addition of cumulative supplements which the author promises will be forthcoming as needed.

ROBERTS CHICKERING

Additional Books and Reports Received¹

Civil Service

A Digest of State Civil Service Laws. Special Bulletin No. 12. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1939. 35 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Fifty-sixth Annual Report, United States Civil Service Commission. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1940. vi, 167 pp. Twenty cents.

¹See also "Research Bureau Reports Received," p. 120.

Finance

Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of Municipal and Local Finance Officers of Pennsylvania. State College, Institute of Local Government, The Pennsylvania State College, 1939. 60 pp. mimeo.

Receipts and Disbursements of Townships and Road Districts 1925-1936. (Survey of Local Finance, Volume Four.) By Illinois Tax Commission in co-operation with Work Projects Administration. Springfield, 1939. viii, 654 pp.

Fire

Report of Fire Survey Board on Consolidation of the District of Columbia Fire Stations. Supplementary Report of Fire Survey Board on Consolidation of the District of Columbia Fire Stations. Washington, D. C., Board of Commissioners, 1939. 141 pp. and 20 pp. mimeo.

Municipal Government

Municipal Government in Florida. (Report of the State and Local Government Survey, Volume 1.) By Work Projects Administration of Florida. Jacksonville, Florida State Planning Board, 1939. xv, 213 pp. mimeo.

Police

Police Statistics of Cincinnati. By F. Robert Meier under the direction of Daniel C. Laurence. Cincinnati, Bureau of Records of the Cincinnati Police, 1939. 120 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

Housing and Welfare Officials Confer. A summary of discussion at the Joint Conference of Housing and Welfare Officials. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1939. vi, 19 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Public Relief—Its Fiscal Import-

ance for State and Local Governments. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1939. 16 pp.

State Government

Annual Message by His Excellency, William H. Vanderbilt. Providence, Rhode Island, 1940. 10 pp.

Summary of 1939 Wisconsin Laws. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1939. 82 pp. Fifty cents.

Taxation

How Public Employees and Public Bodies Are Affected by the Federal Income Tax Act. Chicago, The Municipal Finance Officers' Association, 1939. 12 pp. Fifteen cents.

Problem of Taxation in Massachusetts. Papers presented at the fourth annual conference on current governmental problems November 3 and 4, 1939. Edited by Charles J. Rohr. Amherst, Massachusetts State College, 1939. iv, 74 pp. mimeo. Twenty-five cents.

Property Taxation: Assessed Valuations, Tax Rates, and Tax Extensions, 1927-1936. (Survey of Local Finance in Illinois, Volume Two.) By Illinois Tax Commission in co-operation with Work Projects Administration. Springfield, Illinois, 1939. x, 637 pp.

Property Taxation: Assessed Valuations, Levies, Tax Rates, and Tax Extensions 1937 and 1938. (Survey of Local Finance in Illinois, Volume Three.) By Illinois Tax Commission in co-operation with Work Projects Administration. Springfield, Illinois, 1939. x, 249 pp.

Survey of Taxes Paid by Business in 1938. New York, Research and Statistical Division, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1939. 40 pp.

Taxes. Questions and Answers on State and Federal Taxes Levied in Wisconsin. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1940. 35 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Use Taxes. New York, Tax Policy League, 1939. 9 pp. mimeo. Twenty-five cents.